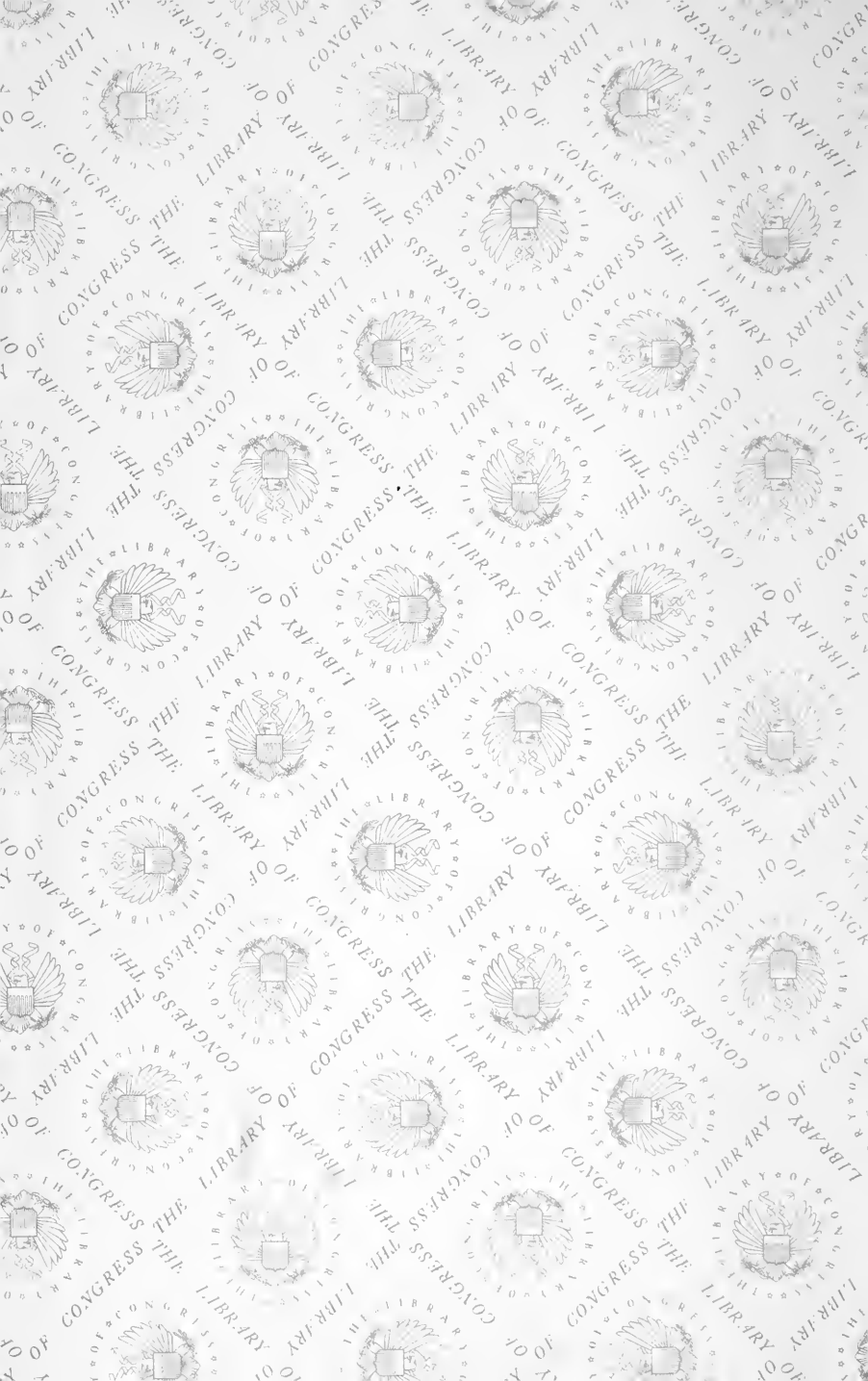
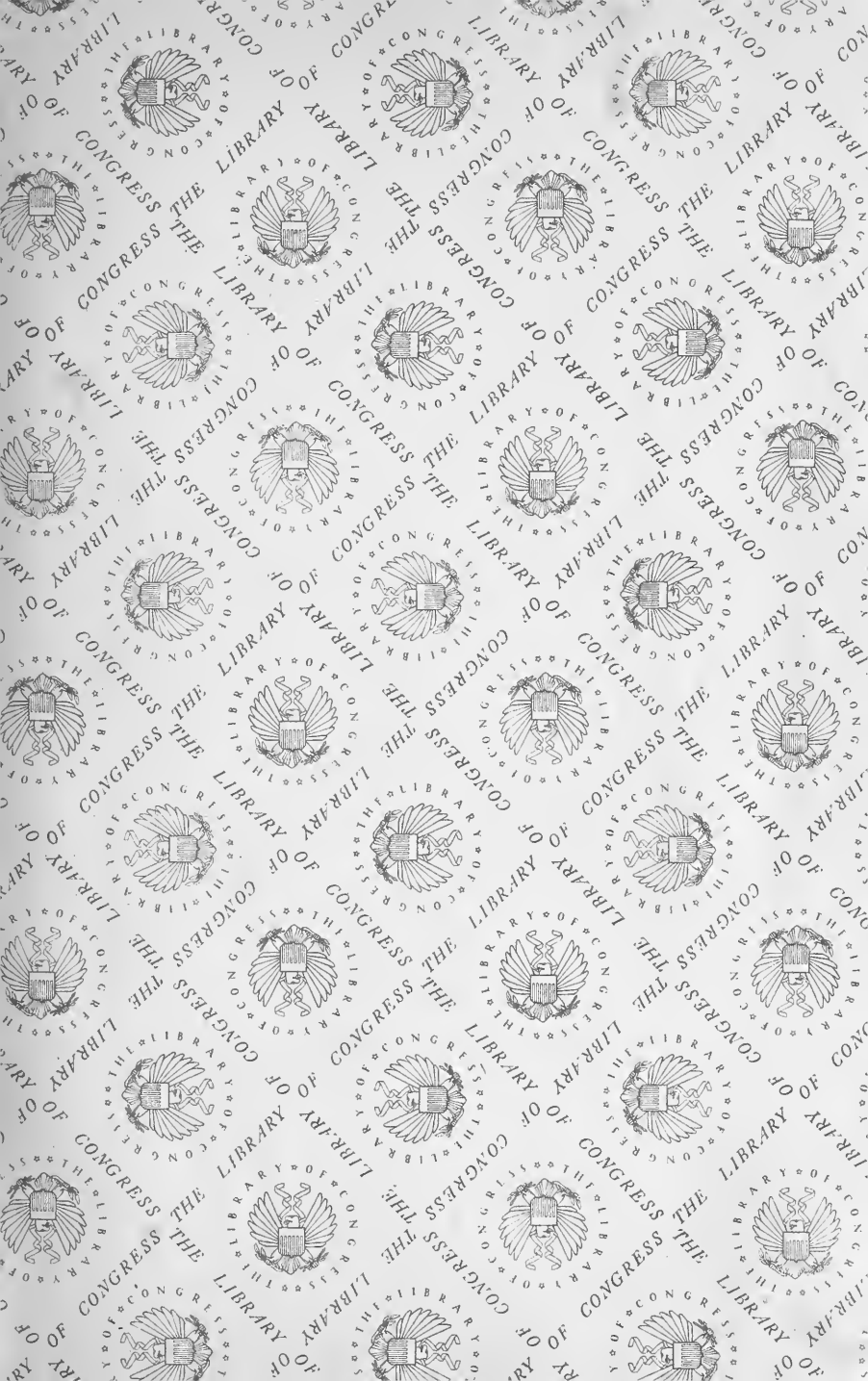


AMERICAN EDUCATION

A. S. DRAPER









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BY

ANDREW S. DRAPER

COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

PRESIDENT OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



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PREFACE

FROM the papers which have accumulated through twenty-three years of educational administration enough have been taken to make this book. For each paper taken three or four have been left. I stipulated, when the book was proposed, that the selections should be made by others, because I doubted my fitness to determine which of my literary children most deserved an extension of life. Those selected have been freed from references to times, people, and places, fitted into a somewhat symmetrical whole, and revised sufficiently to bring them to date. The result presents as compact and comprehensive an expression of my experience and thinking upon American educational questions as I can hope to gather in a single book. For the assistance which has made this possible my acknowledgments are due to my secretaries of recent years, Mr. Harlan H. Horner and Mrs. Honoré H. Greene. The introduction by President Butler enlarges my obligations to a member of the guild who never fails to appreciate and always inspires.

A. S. D.

ALBANY, N. Y., *October*, 1909.

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INTRODUCTION

It is nearly a quarter of a century since Mr. Draper entered upon the work of educational administration to which his life has since been given. He brought to this high task an unusual natural endowment and a still more unusual experience with men and affairs. He did not come to the task of administration from the school-room or the laboratory, but from most active participation in affairs and with the practical interests of men. Experience had given him a sense of proportion and perspective, as well as a knowledge of men, and nature had endowed him with a simple and sturdy directness of thought and speech which gave added weight both to his words and to his deeds.

No other American, I think, has, like Mr. Draper, been successively charged with the administration of a state system of public instruction, with the oversight of the schools of a city of considerable size, with the direction of one of the tax-supported state universities of the country, and finally with the supervision and control of the educational activities of an entire commonwealth. As a result, Mr. Draper has been forced, in the daily performance of the duties of his several offices, to approach the educational problem from many different points of view and to see it under almost all of its limitations and difficulties. He has been a frequent and persuasive speaker at educational gatherings and assemblies, and he has written much for publication, in addition to the preparation of luminous, as well as voluminous, official reports.

The fruit of this unusual experience and activity is presented in this volume in something like systematic form,

and will be read with appreciation and benefit in all parts of the United States.

Mr. Draper's educational philosophy is so simple that it is more than usually profound. His training in the law has made him appreciate the full significance of the American doctrine that education is a function of the state, the commonwealth, and not that of the nation, or primarily that of a locality, whether urban or rural. The logical consequences of this fundamental principle carry the administrator far out into doctrines of taxation, of educational supervision, and of educational control. Mr. Draper's creed is frankly and aggressively democratic. He makes no apologies for ignorance because it is well-to-do, or for knowledge and capacity because they are poor. He has thrown his personal and official influence in favor of the policy of offering to every American who will accept it an opportunity for study and training that will increase his individual usefulness and his equipment for public and social service as a citizen.

Those who have been fortunately associated with Mr. Draper have long recognized that it is red blood that flows in his veins and an indomitable will that executes the policies concerning which his intelligence is convinced. He has a keen eye for educational subterfuge and sham, and small patience with the doctrinaire who has lost touch with the facts and with the impressions and desires of others than himself.

In a time of general disintegration and reorganization, when strange and crude doctrines of educational theory and practice are urged on every hand, it is well to have the sane, well-balanced, and well-tested teaching of Mr. Draper to fall back upon for light and for help.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,

November 1, 1909.

I

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

I

THE NATION'S PURPOSE

OURS is a purposeful nation. It has always faced the east. It has always planned for the future. With the growth in material and intellectual estate, with the reaching-out of the common sentiment for the best opportunities for every one, with the new significance of our political theories in the affairs of all men, wherever they may be, there have come purposes and policies which are new to our own thinking and certainly new to the thinking of the other peoples of the world. The greatest, the very greatest, of these, for obvious reasons, are those which concern universal and liberal education.

Schools are not of recent origin. Learning, speaking relatively, is as old as the race. But any definite national purpose to erect schools for distinct national ends is comparatively new, and the self-conscious generation of a great national system of education by a people, for their own upbuilding and for the greatness of their nation, has come within the memory of living men and is essentially peculiar to this country.

In spite of threadbare claims, the original settlers in America held no settled purposes concerning education which can be differentiated from those of their home lands. How meagre and undefined the educational purposes of the mother countries were, the student very well knows.

Before independence, American schools were dissociated and fragmentary. There was no educational system. The schools, like those over the sea, distinguished between

what were conceived to be the simpler needs of the peasantry and the necessity of classical training of the higher classes for service in the church and state.

Independence did not of itself fertilize, and did not reflect educational purpose. Neither the Declaration nor the Constitution a dozen years later carried any reference to it. This was not because the management of the schools had already come to be a function of the several states, nor because they were unwilling to concede that it was a function of the nation. The matter attracted no attention. It was scarcely referred to in the congressional discussions. Nor was this, in turn, because the men of the Continental Congress and of the Constitutional Convention were illiterate or indifferent to learning. The average of scholarship among the members of the Constitutional Convention was high. Half of them were graduates of colleges. The dominant personalities were Alexander Hamilton, of Columbia, and James Madison, of Princeton. Education had no part in the discussions and found no place in the Declaration or in the Constitution, because education was held to be a matter of only local and private concern, and not a function of organized government at all.

Nor was the federal Constitution alone lacking in educational initiative. The first constitutions of the original states contained only slight references to education. In Georgia and in Pennsylvania the legislature was enjoined to see that one or more schools were erected in each county. The Massachusetts and New Hampshire references were more comprehensive but less definite. Massachusetts made detailed provision for Harvard College. The North Carolina and the Pennsylvania articles enjoined that the legislature should so arrange that the public "might be enabled to instruct youth at low prices." This was in conformity with the common thought that it was not the function of

the state to maintain schools, although the state might help the people to do it economically. The constitutions of the eight other original states made no reference whatever to schools or to education.

It would be interesting to follow the statutes as well as the constitutions of the original states for educational references. Certain it is that they were meagre. Old usage, the foreign influence, the fact that thought would run in established grooves, the distances and the difficulties of communication, made the evolution of educational purpose a slow and laborious one. The fathers did not bring it all with them when they came. England and America, in the first half of the last century, were educationally not so very far removed from the times of Elizabeth. Educational outlook and purpose grew out of our democratic life, and the stronger and freer that life became, the more rapid and the more virile it grew.

As democracy really became free, and as the conventionalities of the mother political system came to be really obsolete, the educational purpose gained volume and force. It is the operation, not the mere declarations or enactments, of our governmental system that has developed popular purpose. As the people moved West, they managed their own affairs with added confidence and freedom, and as rapidly as they did, the educational purpose grew decisively.

Although the first constitutions and laws of the original states made little or no reference to education, those of all the newer states were alive with it. They were not only alive with provisions for the elementary schools which should be common to all, but for higher schools, colleges, and universities, which should also be common to all. And while the eastern states do not know it, and until very recently have been stolidly determined that they will not

learn it, there is no doubt whatever about the public educational purpose having its most luxuriant development among the people who exercise their political power more freely and more uniformly in the newer states of the Union. Wherever caste has been most completely overthrown, wherever the aptitude for self-direction has had its freest growth, wherever the fundamental principle of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created with equivalent and inalienable rights has had its largest acceptance, there the educational purpose of America has had its best exemplification, and there it has borne its most abundant fruit.

It is hardly too much to say that the first educational declaration in American law, which was really more serious than ornamental, was that in the ordinance organizing the old Northwest Territory; and that the initiatory step in the public policy of setting aside the common property for popular education, which was really potential and continuing, appears in the uniform legislation of the newer states which set aside a section of land in every township for the aid of schools.

As more recent immigration has given unexpected strength and completeness to the equipment of the nation, so it has given a new setting and a new meaning to the educational purpose which flickered feebly in the minds of our forefathers. Some new immigrants have appreciated our privileges better than some of the "older settlers." Ireland and Italy and France have enriched our scheme with wit and rhythm and color. Scotland has added moral strength and mental vigor. Norway and Sweden and Denmark have sent agricultural insight and domestic thrift. The great German Empire has contributed scientific method, intensive mechanical skill, and splendid energy and stability to the conception which was begotten and

then for a time held in check by English and Dutch pioneers.

The educational purpose of our nation is a law unto itself. It is a force which all must regard. It acts upon government. It does not desist, it is not discouraged when government hesitates or statesmen cannot see. It is independent of dogmatism, of politics, of racial prejudice or religious bigotry, of language, of state or sectional lines, of partisanship or exclusiveness, of selfishness or sectionalism in any form.

Old Andrew Melville, to the King's very face, told James the Sixth,— who hunted our Pilgrim Fathers out of England, — “There are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland and in one of them James is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but only an ordinary member.” That was the Kingdom of God and his Church. The other was the Kingdom of Men. One was enduring and the other changeable. So there are two governments in America. One is strictly technical, is exactly regulated by written laws, is definitely responsible to the political sentiment of the country; while the other is a pervasive, universal democracy of sense, of moral purpose, and of learning, with an unwritten, free-flowing constitution, which shapes government to its purposes, and in which presidents and governors and senators are weighed by the same standards as all the rest.

The educational thought of America has no inclination toward socialism if socialism means paternalism. It holds that the Declaration decrees equality of right under the law, and not equality of result in spite of moral and legal right. With legal right it makes personal accountability fundamental in our political system. It opens the door of opportunity to all; but it takes from no man the fruit of his energy and endurance, of his knowledge and skill, of his

patience and thrift, to repair the just consequences of another man's worthlessness. It not only accepts, it is the surest bulwark of, the fundamental principles of our democratic institutions; it approves the fabric of laws which the wisest men of the race have been a thousand years in weaving, and it is not disposed to avoid the operation of those higher laws which are from everlasting to everlasting.

There is no smack of charity about the public educational system of America. It is for all. It is the universal and inalienable right of every man and woman, every son and daughter of the realm. It is the corner-stone of our plan, the essential factor of our governmental purpose.

If there are children in the schools who need help, if there are others who are not in the schools because they need help, they are to have the aid of private or public charity. That is not lacking. Men and women who administer it are experienced in dealing with the needy. Aid so extended will not breed pauperism, and it will not put the school system in a false light. The public schools are to train boys and girls,—not to support the thriftless or the unfortunate. People are to be encouraged to support themselves. If they cannot do it, they are to be helped as a boon, not as a legal right. It is as fundamental that people shall suffer the inevitable consequences of their own misdoing, even of their own misfortune — except where our moral sense relieves them — as that they shall have opportunity, and have their reward for making the most of opportunity. One principle is the necessary complement of the other. Education is the essence of equality in opportunity in America. Support is not a legal right. The two should not be confused in the common thinking. The schools have all that they can do. It would be most unwise to weight them with any unnecessary burdens, or involve them in popular misapprehension through confusion over

fundamental principles. The schools are to train. Private philanthropy and organized charity may give such support to the needy as good sense and good fellowship will justify.

The educational purpose of the nation reaches forward to the very mountain tops of human learning. It is time for all to realize that that purpose points not only to a free elementary school within reach of every home, but also to a free high school in every considerable town, and to a free university in every state. It of course accepts the endowed universities as component parts of the educational system. They afford a fair realization of its ideal in some states; but it insists that they shall articulate with the public secondary schools, and, in one way or another, assure every boy and every girl the true chance which the plan and the progressive thought of the nation guarantee. If not, then it insists that the states shall do this through higher institutions of their own.

It does not insist that every one must go to the higher institutions. It recognizes wide differences in the circumstances, the work, and the outlook of men and women. It distinguishes between the kinds of learning which are best suited to differing and inevitable conditions of life. It does insist that the political security and the economic power of the nation shall rest upon the moral sense and the common disposition to produce; and not exclusively, nor even very largely, upon philosophic theory, upon moneyed wealth, or upon a mere knowledge of literatures or of the fine arts. Seeking culture, it knows that the only true culture must result from doing, and that polish at second-hand, transmitted without labor, is neither deep nor true.

It does not accept the rather general implication that honor and usefulness depend upon intellectual pursuits. It does not encourage all children to seek them. It would make the work of the schools aid the industries, and it

would give quite as much prominence and quite as much honor to manual skill as to intellectual occupations.

It stands for a balanced educational system, the best and broadest that can be made, and therefore good enough for all, in which every one may find what he will, may go as far and as high as he will; and not for a system which dignifies any interest or aids any class as against any other. In a word, it believes in schools of every grade and for every purpose, with equality of opportunity and absolute freedom of selection for all, and with special privileges for none.

All endowed institutions of learning are held to be a part of the public educational system of the country, and private and proprietary institutions, if moved by correct influences and managed by proper methods, are considered deserving of aid and commendation. Public school officials usually give to sectarian and denominational schools their fraternal regard and professional coöperation, and ordinarily regret that any may think it necessary on conscientious grounds to decline the privileges of the public school system and maintain schools at their own expense. Sincerity is recognized wherever it is convincing, and there is constant effort to articulate the public school system with every educational activity calculated to quicken the nation's moral sense or uplift the nation's intellectual life.

It is the overwhelming, and, it is to be hoped, the settled American opinion that neither the federal power nor that of any state can sustain a business relation with, or give financial aid to, or divide its responsibility with, any class or interest not common to every citizen and every section; but that affords no ground for irritation between any class or sectional interest on the one side and any phase of the state or federal power on the other. Indeed, if the state cannot give its money to expensive work which enters into

the building of the nation, it may well give to that work the fullest measure of moral encouragement that will be welcome. In a word, special aid can be given to none as against another, but we can go to the verge of fundamental and constitutional principles, with all toleration of opinions and all true-heartedness, to bind together the moral forces and the intellectual activities of all sects and parties for the further upbuilding of the nation.

Public obligations to afford information, to extend culture, and to aid self-improvement outside of the schools are recognized. There has been no more radiant sign of encouragement in our history, none, indeed, in any history, than the manifest eagerness of our adult masses for knowledge. Sound policy will give to libraries, and study-clubs, and all the means for study at home, an unstinted measure of generous public aid and encouragement. Whatever adds to the real enlightenment of the multitude, adds to the happiness, the strength, and the security of a republic which rests upon the common intelligence and equality of rights for all.

No other country and no other age ever had visions of our great private benefactions to learning. The common impulse honors the benefactors and holds the gifts to be sacred and inviolable public trusts. They must be neither impaired nor misdirected. The laws must assure the ends for which they are created; public sentiment must see that trustees execute the purpose of the givers with exactness. No one can foresee the influence of these benefactions. They will gain great ends which are often outside the legal powers of organized government. They will round out and complete the undertakings of government. They will ornament and embellish the educational structure which government erects. They may experiment in fields where democracy must hesitate until the

ground is proved. The public educational system will aid them and be aided by them. Combining unprecedented public purpose and public powers with unparalleled private beneficence, the United States will develop the most universal, complete, and potential scheme of education that the wisdom and great-heartedness of man can devise.

Of course, our democracy has its difficulties. Equality of opportunity, from the first school to the last one, with continuity of courses from the elementary work in the primary schools to the research work in the universities, presents difficulties which do not confront the educational system of any other land. It is far easier for a minister of education, without interference, to arrange and administer all this than it is for a whole people to do it. But it is better for the people to do it. And the people tax themselves with doing more than ever confronted any minister of education. The zeal of the people, with fullness of opportunity, often puts more upon the teachers than they are able to do completely. There is seeming uncertainty and indefiniteness. But it is not to be forgotten that the people grow in strength and stature through doing things for themselves. It is the fullness of opportunity and the self-conscious power, and the knowledge that consequences may be corrected if need be, that is rounding out the educational system to its unprecedented proportions and its unparalleled effectiveness. The nation will go on doing things, meeting difficulties, correcting mistakes, bringing the perfect figure out of the barren rock, and gaining the splendid ends for which the people sustain the schools.

It is at all times to be kept sharply in mind that the schools are not only to educate people in order that they may be educated, but also to educate them in order that

they may *do things*. They are to be trained for labor and for effectiveness. Things must be done, and great men and women are to develop through doing them. Through the training they are not only to unlock the truths of science, but apply them to the agricultural and mining and animal and mechanical industries; they are to think out economic principles and understand the under-running currents of foreign commerce and world-relations; they are to learn the underlying principles of finance and apply them to personal and public credits; they are to abound in toleration and work with others in the institutions of society; they are to stand for knowledge; they are to respect labor; they are to exact the right and do it; they are to bring out the resources, help the thrift, stir the humor, enlarge the generosity, increase the self-respect, and quicken the sense of justice, of the nation. Moral power and earning power are to develop together. The schools must uplift the pupils, and the people must know that the attitude of the Republic in the world is nothing different from the attitude of the individual units which make the nation. No one-man power, no ministerial power, no money power, no specious but fallacious philosophy, is to rule this country. This is a democracy in which native energy and discussion will point the way.

The educational purpose of America is sharply distinguished from that of other lands. The essential difference comes through our democracy.

The English purpose would have every English child read and write and work. England has simple but effective elementary schools for the peasant class. All peasant children go to them. Although they know nothing of American opportunity, the percentage of illiteracy is lower than in our American states. So it is in the leading countries of Europe. Of course, England has schools

for the higher classes. But there is no educational mixing of classes, and no articulation or continuity of work. The controlling influence in English politics is distinctly opposed to universalizing education, through fear of unsettling the status and letting loose the ambitions of the serving classes. The placidity of the social organization seems of more moment than the strength of the empire.

So it is also in France. Notwithstanding the republican form of government, the thinking of a thousand years is controlling. With less native sense and less respect for work, with more inherent buoyancy and more art-feeling than in Britain, the children of the masses are trained for service, — an humble service, though possibly somewhat higher than across the Channel. They are trained for examinations and for routine rather than for power. With less fibre and substance in the character commonly trained, the result is not more reassuring.

There is more to admire in the German purpose and plan, for ambition and determination are not lacking in the nation, and the Kaiser knows that the material strength and the military power of the German Empire rest upon the intelligence of the German masses, and the productivity of German labor. Splendid as that is, it is not enough in American eyes.

Our educational purpose has a fast hold upon all that, and more. The nation wants more than industrial strength and military power. Americans do not know all that is to be known; they may learn something from every other system; but there is an essential and universal educational purpose in America which distinguishes the system from all others. There are no "classes" in education. It is the national belief that the true greatness of the nation and the welfare of mankind depend not only upon

giving every one his chance, but also upon aiding and inspiring every one to seize his chance.

The corner-stone principle of our political theory coincides absolutely with the fundamental doctrine of our moral law. All men and women are to be intellectually quickened and made industrially potential, to the very limits of sane and balanced character. The moral sense of the people is determined by it and the nation's greatness is measured by it. Before this fact the prerogative of a monarch or the comfort of a class is of no account. Before it every other consideration must give way. It is right here that democracies which can hold together surpass monarchies. It is for this reason that the progressive will of an intelligent people is better than the hereditary and arbitrary power of kings. And a sane and balanced and boundless educational system, with a base which is broad enough and a peak which is high enough, will fuse the elements of population and enable a democracy of English speech and sufficient Saxon blood to hold together.

All Americans are optimists. The expectations of the nation are boundless. There are no upper limits. Those expectations are not gross: they are genuine and sincere, moral and high-minded. They are the issue of a mighty world-movement; the splendid product of the best thinking and the hardest struggling of a thousand years.

Critics say that Americans are boastful. It is not necessary to put them to the trouble of proving it: it is admitted. It is a matter of definition or of terminology. Our self-confidence is born of knowledge and of accomplishment. The nation believes in the stars which are in the heavens, and it also believes in the stars which are upon the flag. It knows its history; it understands its constituent elements; it has definite purposes; it expects to go forward; it believes in itself.

Our nation holds the essential principles established in the great charters of English and American liberty to be its particular heritage. It is enlarging, extending, clarifying, reaffirming, and transmitting them. It is putting its whole self, its political power, its sagacity, and its money, into the work which it has set itself to do. Of course it has its perplexities; but it is without apprehension. The great heart of the nation is conscious of its own rectitude. It will not fear and it will not hesitate. It will act upon its own thinking. It will mend its mistakes. It does not merely stand for security: it stands for liberty and for doing. It is not for the present alone: it is for the future. It will take care of its own. It will not hide its light. It will not meddle with other people; but it will deny to no men and women who would uplift themselves such measure of sympathy and assistance as it may give.

II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

THE educational purpose of our nation unfolded slowly. Although it was early conceived to be a function of government to encourage schools, the establishment of a definite system of instruction based upon that idea proceeded very gradually.

There was nothing like an educational system in the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century. At that time there were four or five colleges, here and there a private academy or fitting school, and elementary schools of indifferent character in the cities and the thinly settled towns. In the course of the century a great system of schools came to cover the land. It is free and flexible, adaptable to local conditions, and yet it possesses most of the elements of a complete and symmetrical system. The parts or grades of this system may perhaps be designated as follows:—

(a) Free public elementary schools in reach of every home in the land.

(b) Free public high schools, or secondary schools, in every considerable town.

(c) Provision for free land-grant colleges, with special reference to the agricultural and mechanical arts, in all the states.

(d) Free state universities in practically all of the southern states and in all the states west of Pennsylvania.

(e) Free normal schools, or training schools for teachers, in practically every state.

(f) Free schools for defectives, in substantially all the states.

(g) National academies for training officers for the army and navy.

(h) A vast number of private kindergartens, music and art schools, commercial schools, industrial schools, professional schools, denominational colleges, with a half dozen leading and privately endowed universities.

This mighty educational system has developed with the growth of towns and cities and states. It has been shaped by the advancing sagacity of the people. Above all other American civic institutions, it has been the one most expressive of the popular will and the common purposes. Everywhere it is held in the control of the people, and so far as practicable in the control of local assemblages. While the tendency of later years has, from necessity, been towards centralization of management, the conspicuous characteristic has always been the extent to which the elementary and secondary schools are controlled and directed by each community. The inherent and universal disposition in this direction has favored general school laws and yielded to centralized administration only so far as has come to be necessary to life, efficiency, and growth. But circumstances have made this necessary to a very considerable extent.

The "school district" is the oldest and the most primary form of school organization. Indeed, it is the smallest civil division of our political system. It resulted from the natural disposition of neighboring families to associate together for the maintenance of a school. Later it was recognized by law and given some legal functions and responsibilities. Its territorial extent is no larger than will permit of all the children attending a single school, although it sometimes happens that in sparsely settled country the children have to go several miles to school. It ordinarily accommodates but a few families. Districts have had legal existence with but one family in each, and many with not more than a half dozen families. The "district system" is in opera-

tion in the rural communities in most of the states, and in such the number of districts extends into the thousands. For example, in New York, there are over eleven thousand and in Illinois over twelve thousand school districts.

The government of the school district is the most simple and democratic that can be imagined. It is controlled by school meetings composed of the resident legal voters. In many of the states women have been constituted legal voters at school meetings. These meetings are held at least annually, and as much oftener as may be desired. They may vote needed repairs to the primitive schoolhouse and desirable appliances for the school. They may decide to erect a new schoolhouse. They may elect officers, one or more, commonly called trustees or directors, who must carry out their directions and who are required by law to employ the teacher and to have general oversight of the school. Although the law ordinarily gives the trustees free discretion in the appointment of teachers, provided only that a person duly certificated must be appointed, yet it not infrequently happens that the district controls the selection of the teacher through the election of trustees with known preferences.

Much has been said against the district system, and doubtless much that has been said has been justified. At the same time it cannot be denied that the system has had much to commend it. It has suited the conditions of country life; it has resulted in schools adapted to the thought and wants of farming people; it has done something to educate the people themselves, parents as well as children, in civic spirit and patriotism; and it has afforded a meeting place for the people within comfortable reach of every home. The school has not always been the best, but ordinarily it has been as good as a free and primitive people would sustain or could profit by. It is true that the teachers

have generally been young and inexperienced, but they have not yet been led to put the means above the doing, and as a rule they have been among the most promising young people in the world, the ones who, a few years later, have been the makers of opinion and the leaders of action upon a considerable field. Certainly the work has lacked system, continuity, and progressiveness, but, on the other hand, the children in the country schools have had the home training and the free, natural life which has developed strong qualities in character and individual initiative in large measure, and so they have not suffered seriously in comparison with the children living in the towns. The district system has sufficed well for them, and it has otherwise been of much advantage to the people; and its shortcomings or abuses are hardly worse than are found under more pretentious systems. Surely the American district school system is to be spoken of with respect, for it has exerted a marked influence upon our citizenship, and has given strong and wholesome impulses in all the affairs of the nation.

While the earlier general educational purpose seems to have been to make the district system more perfect, the later tendency has unmistakably been to merge it into a more pretentious organization, covering a larger area, and capable of larger undertakings. The cause of this has been the desire for larger schools, taught by teachers better prepared, and capable of broader and better work, as well as the purpose to distribute educational advantages more evenly to all the people. Accordingly, in most of the states there has been a serious discussion of the relative advantages of the township as against the district system, and in a number of the states the former has already supplanted the latter.

The township system makes the township the unit of

school government. It is administered by officers chosen at annual town meetings, or sometimes by central boards, the members of which are chosen by the electors of different sub-districts. In any event, the board has charge of all the elementary schools of the township, and, if there is one as is frequently the case, of the township high school. The board, following the different statutes and the authorized directions of the township school electors, provides the buildings and cares for them, supplies the needed furnishings and appliances, employs the teachers, and regulates the general operations of the school.

It is at once seen that the township system is much less formally democratic and much more centralized than the district system. It has perhaps produced better schools and schools of more uniform excellence. One of its most beneficent influences has been the multiplication of township high schools, in which all the children of the township have had equality of rights. These high schools have given an uplifting stimulus to the elementary schools of the township, have led the children to see that the work of the local school is not all there is of education, and have given many of them ambitions to master the course of the secondary school.

The township system has many advantages over the district system for a people who are ready for it. It is adapted to the development and to the administration of a higher grade of schools and very likely to better schools of all grades. It is a step, and an important step, towards that general centralization in management and greater uniformity of improved methods of supervision and instruction now so manifest throughout the school system of the United States.

The county system of school administration is found in nearly all the southern states. This has resulted from

the general system of county rather than township government prevalent in all the affairs of the southern states from the beginning, and easily traceable to historic causes. The county is the unit of school government in the southern states, because it has been the unit of all government.

The county system is not constituted identically in all of the southern states. In Georgia, for example, the grand jury of each county selects from the freeholders five persons to comprise the county board of education; in North Carolina the General Assembly appoints such a county board of education, while in Florida the board is elected by the people biennially, and in some states a county commissioner or superintendent of schools is the responsible authority for managing the schools of the county. In several of the states the county board or superintendent divides the territory into sub-districts and appoints trustees or directors in each. In the latter instance the local trustees seem to be ministerial officers carrying out the policy of the county board. In any case the unit of territory for the administration of the schools is the county, and county officials locate sites, provide buildings, select textbooks, prescribe the course of work, examine and appoint teachers, and do all the things which are within the functions of district or township trustees or city boards of education in the northern states.

As communities have increased in population they have outgrown any primary or elementary system of organization for school purposes. Laws of general application or common usage in sparsely settled territory would not suffice for a city of many thousands of people. In such cities the people could not meet to fix the policies and manage the business of the schools: they could not meet even to choose officers to manage the schools. The state legislatures have

made special laws to meet the circumstances of the larger places. In some states these laws are uniform for all cities of a certain class, that is, cities having populations of about the same number, but more often each city has gone to the legislature and procured the enactment of such statutes as seemed suited to the immediate circumstances.

Because of this there is no uniform or general system of public school administration in the American cities. Of course there are some points of similarity. In nearly every case there is a board of education charged with the management of the schools, but these boards are constituted in almost as many different ways as there are different cities, and their legal functions are widely diverse. In the greater number of cities the boards of education are elected by the people, in some cases on a general city ticket, and again by wards or sub-districts; in some places at a general or municipal election, and in others at elections held for the particular purpose. But in many cities, and particularly the larger ones, the boards are appointed by the mayor alone, or by the mayor and city council acting jointly. In the city of Philadelphia the board is appointed by the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, in Pittsburgh by local directors. In a few instances the board is appointed by the city councils.

In the city of Cleveland the board of education consists of two branches: a school director elected by the people for the term of two years, and a school council of seven members, likewise elected by the people in three groups with terms of three years each. This scheme was devised in 1892 by prominent business men of the city, and, having been enacted by the legislature, has, with some important changes, been in satisfactory operation since.

It must be said that there has been much dissatisfaction with the way school affairs have been managed in the

larger cities. In the smaller places, even in cities of a hundred thousand or more inhabitants, matters have gone well enough as a general rule, but in the greater cities there have been many and serious complaints of the misuse of funds, of neglect of property, of the appointment of unfit teachers, and of general incapacity, or worse, on the part of the boards. Of course it is notorious that the public business of American cities has very commonly been badly managed. It would not be true to say that the business of the schools has suffered as seriously as municipal business, but it certainly has been managed badly enough.

All this has come from the amounts of money that are involved and the number of appointments that are constantly to be made. More than a hundred and fifty millions of dollars are paid annually for teachers' wages in the United States. People who are needy have sought positions as teachers without much reference to preparation, and the kindly disposed have aided them without any apparent appreciation of the injury they were doing to the highest interests of their neighbors. Men engaged in managing the organizations of the different political parties have undertaken to control appointments in the interests of their party machines. And the downright scoundrels have infested the school organization in some places for the sake of plunder.

As cities have grown in size and multiplied in numbers, the more scandal there has been. But if the troubles have multiplied and intensified as the cities have grown, so has the determination of the people strengthened to remedy the difficulties. There has been no more decided and no more healthy educational movement in the United States in recent years, and none with greater or more strongly intrenched obstacles in its way, than that for better school organization and administration in the larger cities. Its

particular features or objective points were early pointed out by the committee of fifteen of the National Educational Association in the following declarations:—

First. The affairs of the school should not be mixed up with partisan contests or municipal business.

Second. There should be a sharp distinction between legislative functions and executive duties.

Third. Legislative functions should be clearly fixed by statute and be exercised by a comparatively small board, each member of which is representative of the whole city. This board, within statutory limitations, should determine the policy of the system, levy taxes, and control the expenditures. It should make no appointments. Every act should be by a recorded resolution. It seems preferable that this board be created by appointment rather than election, and that it be constituted of two branches acting against each other.

Fourth. Administration should be separated into two great independent departments, one of which manages the business interests and the other of which supervises the instruction. Each of these should be wholly directed by a single official who is vested with ample authority and charged with full responsibility for sound administration.

Fifth. The chief executive officer on the business side should be charged with the care of all property and with the duty of keeping it in suitable condition: he should provide all necessary furnishings and appliances: he should make all agreements and see that they are properly performed: he should appoint all assistants, janitors, and workmen. In a word, he should do all that the law contemplates and all that the board authorizes, concerning the business affairs of the school system, and when anything goes wrong he should answer for it. He may be appointed by the board, but we think it preferable that he be chosen in the same way the members of the board are chosen, and be given a veto upon the acts of the board.

Sixth. The chief executive officer of the department of instruction should be given a long term, and may be appointed by the board. If the board is constituted of two branches, he should be nominated by the business executive and confirmed

by the legislative branch. Once appointed he should be independent. He should appoint all authorized assistants and teachers from an eligible list to be constituted as provided by law. He should assign to duties and discontinue services for cause, at his discretion. He should determine all matters relating to instruction. He should be charged with the responsibility of developing a professional and enthusiastic teaching force, and of making all the teaching scientific and forceful. He must perfect the organization of his department and make and carry out plans to accomplish this. If he cannot do this in a reasonable time he should be superseded by one who can.

It ought to be said before passing from this phase of the subject that these principles have made much headway, and that the promise is excellent. There is not a city of any importance in the country in which they have not been under discussion, and there are few in which some of them have not been adopted and put in operation.

The powers of the city boards of education are very broad, almost without limits, as to the management of the schools. They commonly do everything but decide the amount of money which shall be raised for the schools, and in some cases even that high prerogative is left to them. They purchase new sites, determine the plans and erect new buildings, provide for maintenance, appoint officers and teachers, fix salaries, make promotions, and, acting within very few and slight constitutional or statutory limitations, enact all of the regulations for the control of the vast system.

The high powers cheerfully given by the people to school boards have arisen from the earnest desire that the schools shall be independent and the teaching of the best. Of course these independent and large prerogatives are exceedingly advantageous to educational progress when exercised by good men. When they fall into the hands of weak or bad men they are equally capable of being put to the worst uses. And it is not to be disguised that in some of the foremost

cities they have fallen into some hands which are corrupt, although more often into the hands of men of excellent personal character, but who do not see the importance of applying pedagogical principles to instruction, and who are, in one way or another, used by designing persons for partisan, selfish, or corrupt purposes. Of course it is not to be implied that there are not to be found in every school board men or women with clear heads and stout hearts, who understand the essential principles of sound school administration and are courageously contending for them. Nor must the serious difficulty of holding together pupils from such widely different homes in common schools be lost sight of. And again, the obstacles in the way of choosing and training a teaching force of thousands of persons, and of continually energizing the entire body with new pedagogical life, must be remembered. And yet again, the dangers of corruption where millions of dollars are being annually disbursed by boards which are practically independent, are apparent. But, notwithstanding all of the hindrances, the issue has been joined and the battle will be fought out to a successful result. There can be but one outcome. The forces of decency and progress always prevail in the end.

The demands of the intelligent and sincere friends of popular education in our great cities are for a more scientific plan of organization, which shall separate legislative and executive functions, which shall put the interests of teachers upon the merit basis and leave them free to apply pedagogical principles to the instruction, which shall give authority to do what is needed and protect officers and teachers in doing it, while it locates responsibility and provides the way for ousting the incompetent or the corrupt. The trouble has been that the boards were independent and the machinery so ponderous and the prerogatives and responsibilities of officials so confused that people who were

aggrieved could not get a hearing or could not secure redress, and sometimes for the reason that no one official had the power to afford redress. What is demanded and what is apparently coming is a more perfect system, which will give a teacher credit for good work in the schools and enable a parent to point his finger at, and procure the dismissal of, an official who inflicts upon his child a school-room which is not wholesome and healthful, or a teacher who is physically, pedagogically, or morally unfit to train his child.

Since the American school system has come to be supported wholly by taxation, it has come to depend upon the exercise of a sovereign power. In the United States the sovereign powers are not all lodged in one place. Such as have not been ceded to the general government are retained by the states. The provision and supervision of schools are in the latter class. Hence, the school system, while marked by many characteristics which are common throughout the country, has a legal organization peculiar to each state.

The dependence upon state authority which has thus arisen has gone further than anything else towards the development of a *system* and towards the equalization of school privileges to the people of the same state. Naturally indisposed to relinquish the management of their own school affairs in their own way, the people have had to bow to the authority of their states, in so far as the state saw fit to assert its authority, because they could not act without it, as counties, cities, townships and districts have no power whatever to levy taxes for school purposes except as authorized by the state. They have become reconciled to the intervention of state authority, moreover, as they have seen that such authority improved the schools.

And the application of state authority to all of the schools supported by public moneys of course makes them more alike and better. The whims of local settlements disappear.

The schoolhouses are better. More is done for the preparation of teachers, and more uniform exactions are put upon candidates for the teaching service. The courses of study are more quickly and symmetrically improved. There is criticism and stimulus from a common centre for all of the educational work of the state.

The different states have gone to very different lengths in exercising their authority. The length to which each has gone has depended upon the necessity of state intervention by the exercise of the taxing power, or of delegating that power to subdivisions of the territory, and upon the sentiment of the people. In most cases it has been determined by the location of the point of equipoise between necessity and free consent. The state government has, of course, not been disposed to go further than the people were willing, for all government is by the people. The thought of the people in the different states has been somewhat influenced by considerations which arise out of their early history, but doubtless in most cases it is predicated upon their later experiences.

Of course, all the states have legislated much in reference to the schools, and there is scarcely a session of one of the state legislatures in which they do not receive considerable attention. In all the states there is some sort of a state school organization established by law. In practically all there is an officer known as the state superintendent of public instruction, or the commissioner of education. In some there is a state board of education. In New York, for example, there is a state board of regents and a state commissioner of education in general charge of all public schools and of every educational activity of the state. This oversight extends to libraries, admission to the professions, and everything that the state does to promote the intellectual uplift of the people. The board of regents exercises the

powers of the state in legislating upon educational policies, and appoints the commissioner of education who is the executive officer of the board. Aside from that, the commissioner of education apportions the state school funds; he determines the conditions of admission, the courses of work and the employment of teachers; he audits all the accounts of the twelve normal schools of the state; he has unlimited authority over the examination and certification of teachers; he regulates the official action of the school commissioners in all of the assembly districts of the state; he appoints the teachers' institutes, arranges the work, names the instructors, and pays the bills. He determines the boundaries of school districts; he provides schools for the defective classes and for the seven Indian reservations yet remaining in the state. He may condemn schoolhouses and require new ones to be built; he may direct new furnishings to be provided. He is a member of the board of trustees of Cornell University. He may entertain appeals, by any person conceiving himself aggrieved, from any order or proceeding of local school officials, determine the practice therein, and make final disposition of the matter in dispute, and his decision cannot be "called in question in any court or in any other place."

All this unquestionably provides New York with a more complete and elaborate educational organization than that of any other American state. There are some who think that it is more elaborate and authoritative than necessary; that it unduly overrides local freedom and discourages individual initiative. It does not, but it is certainly exceptional among the states. Most of them undertake to regulate school affairs but very little. In the larger number of cases the state board of education administers only the schools maintained directly by the state, and the principal functions of the leading educational official of the state are

merely to inspire action through his addresses and to gather statistics and disseminate information deducible therefrom.

However, there can be no doubt about the general tendency being strongly towards greater centralization. Not only are its advantages quite apparent, but the overwhelming current of legislation and of the decisions of the courts is making it imperative. These are practically in accord, and are to the effect that in each state the school system is not local, but general; not individual schools controlled by separate communities, but a closely related system of schools which has become a state system and is entirely under state authority. Local school officials are now uniformly held to be agents of the state for the administration of a state system of education.

Widely dissimilar conditions lead different states to a greater or lesser appreciation of their educational responsibilities and make them more or less able or disposed to exercise their legal functions to the full measure of their good. Yet all are appreciating the fact that a constitutional, self-governing state exists for the moral and intellectual advantage of every citizen and for the common progress of the whole mass. All are moving according to the light they have, in fulfillment of wise public policy and constitutional obligation. They have employed and will continue to employ different methods. Some will act directly through state officials; some will delegate a large measure of authority to local boards and officials so long as it seems well; but all have the highest authority, the supreme responsibility in the matter, and under the influence of the later knowledge will rectify mistakes and take whatever new steps may be necessary to carry the best educational opportunities to every child.

The federal government has never exercised any control over the public educational work of the country. But it may

be said with emphasis that that government has never been indifferent thereto. It has shown its interest at different times by generous gifts to education, and by the organization of a bureau of education for the purpose of gathering the fullest information from all the states, and from foreign nations as well, and for disseminating data to all who may be interested.

The gifts of the United States to the several states to encourage schools have been in the form of land grants from the public domain. In the sale of public lands the practice of reserving one lot in every township "for the maintenance of public schools within the township" has uniformly been followed. In 1786 officers of the revolutionary army petitioned Congress for the right to settle territory north and west of the Ohio River. A committee reported a bill in favor of granting the request, which provided that one section in each township should be reserved for common schools, one section for the support of religion, and four townships for the support of a university. This was modified so as to give one section for the support of religion, one for common schools, and two townships for the support of a "literary institution to be applied to the intended object by the legislature of the state." This provision, coupled with the splendid declaration that "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," foreshadowed the general disposition and policy of the central government and made the "Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory" as famous as it was fundamental. The precedent here established became national policy, and after the year 1800 each state admitted to the Union, with the exception of Maine, Texas, and West Virginia, received two or more townships of land for the founding of a university.

In 1836 Congress passed an act distributing to the several states certain surplus funds in the treasury. In all \$28,101,645 was so distributed, and in a number of the states this was devoted to educational uses.

But the most noble, timely, and carefully guarded gift of the federal government was embodied in the land grant act of 1862 for colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts. This act gave to each state thirty thousand acres of land for each senator and representative in Congress to which the state was entitled under the census of 1860, for the purpose of founding "at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the states shall respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life." This gift has been added to by other congressional enactments, and the proceeds of the sales of lands have been generously supplemented by the state legislatures until great colleges and universities have arisen in all of the states.

The work of the United States bureau of education is a most exact, stimulating, and beneficent one. Without exercising any authority, it is untiring and scientific in gathering data, in the philosophic treatment of educational subjects, and in furnishing the fullest information upon every conceivable phase of educational activity to whomsoever will accept it. Its operations have by no means been confined to the United States. It has become the great educational clearing house of the world. The commissioners who have been at the head of this bureau have been eminent men and great educational leaders. Under such fortunate direction the bureau of education has collected the facts

and made most painstaking research into every movement in America and elsewhere which gave promise of advantage to the good cause of popular education.

So, while the government of the United States is not chargeable under the Constitution with providing or supervising schools, and while it does not exercise authority in the matter, it will be quickly seen that it has been steadily and intelligently and generously true to the national instinct to advance morality and promote culture by its influence and its resources.

Up to this time we have been treating of the American public school system, using the term in its strictest sense. We have been referring to the schools supported by public moneys and supervised by public officers. Yet there is an infinite number of other schools which comprise an important part of the educational system of the country and are of course subject to its laws. Any statement concerning American school organization and administration, even of the most general character, would be incomplete which did not cover these; but obviously it is not desirable in this connection to do more than touch upon the relation in which they stand, by common usage and under the laws, to American education.

In the first half of the nineteenth century many private "academies" or "seminaries" sprang up in all directions where the country had become at all settled. This was in response to a demand from ambitious people who could not get what they wanted in the common schools. Any teacher with a little more than ordinary gifts could open one of these schools upon a little higher plane than usual and very soon have plenty of pupils and a profitable income. Many of these institutions did most excellent work. Not a few of the leading citizens of the country owe their first inspiration and help to them. The larger part of these schools

served their purpose and finally gave way to new public high schools. Some yet remain and continue to meet the desires of well-to-do families who prefer their somewhat exclusive ways. A considerable number have been adopted by their states and developed into state normal schools, and not a few have by their own natural force grown into literary colleges.

The earlier American colleges were, in the beginning, in a large sense the children of the state. Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Columbia, were all chartered by and in some measure supported by their states at the start, and are yet subject to the law, though they have become independent of such support. As their purposes are of the best, they have become a law unto themselves. A vast number of colleges has been established by the religious denominations for the training of their ministry, and, so far as possible, for giving all their youth a higher education while keeping them under their denominational influence.

In recent years innumerable schools have arisen out of private enterprise. Every conceivable interest has produced a school to promote its own ends, which is accordingly adjusted to its own thought. So, professional, technical, industrial, and commercial schools of every kind have sprung up on every hand.

All such schools operate by the tacit leave of the states in which they exist. The states are not disposed to interfere with them, as they ask no public support. Some of them hold charters granted by the legislature, and more of them secure legal standing by organizing under general corporation laws enacted to cover all such enterprises. In some cases the states distribute public moneys to some of these institutions by way of encouragement, and perhaps impose certain conditions upon which they shall be eligible to share in such distributions. But ordinarily a state does

no more than protect its own good name against occasional impostors.

The tendency to regulate private schools by legislation, to the extent at least of seeing that they are not discreditable to the state, is unmistakable. New York, for example, has prohibited the use of the name "college" or "university" except when the equipment and endowment are sufficient and the requirements of the state board of regents are met. All of the reputable institutions — and they constitute nearly the whole number — desire reasonable supervision, for it certifies their respectability and constitutes them a part of the public educational system of the state.

An exceedingly important phase of the American school system which distinguishes that system from any other national system of education, and which has come to be well established in our laws, must not be overlooked; that is, supervision by professional experts, both generally and locally.

From the beginning the laws have provided methods for certificating persons deemed to be qualified to teach in the schools. This has ordinarily been among the functions of state, city, and county superintendents or commissioners. Sometimes boards of examiners have been created whose only duty should be to examine and certificate teachers. The functions of certificating and of employing teachers have, for obvious reasons, not commonly been lodged in the same officials. Superintendents were early provided for by law. The first state superintendency was established by New York in 1812. Other states took similar action in the next thirty years. Town, city, and county superintendencies were afterward provided for.

The main duty of these officials in the earlier days was to examine candidates for teaching, report statistics, and make addresses on educational occasions. In later years,

however, they are held in considerable measure responsible for the quality of the teaching. In the country districts the superintendents hold institutes, visit the schools, commend and criticise the teaching, and exert every effort to promote the efficiency of the schools. A discreet and active county superintendent comes to exert almost a controlling influence over the school affairs of his county.

In the cities, and particularly the larger ones, the problem is much more difficult. There are many more teachers, and the task of securing persons of uniform excellence is much enlarged. The schools are less homogeneous and instruction less easy. Frequently the superintendent cannot know the personal qualities of each teacher, or even visit all of the schools. The laws are coming to recognize the responsibilities and difficulties of the superintendent's position, and are continually throwing about that officer additional safeguards and giving him larger powers and greater freedom of action. The great issue that is now on in American school affairs is between education and politics. The school men are insisting upon absolute immunity from political influence in their work. Pure democracy has its troubles. The machinations of men who are seeking political influence constitute the most serious of them. However, the good cause of education against political manipulation is making substantial progress. The statute books of all the states show provisions recognizing the professional school superintendent; in many of the states they contain provisions directing and protecting his work; and in some of them they are beginning to confer upon him entire authority over the appointment, assignment, and removal of teachers, while they impose upon him entire responsibility for the quality of the teaching.

It is this professional supervision, by states and counties as well as by towns and cities, taken up almost spontane-

ously at the beginning, and early established and compensated by law, which has given the American schools their peculiar spirit. As intelligence has advanced and the people have come to know the worth of good teaching and have been unwilling that their children should be associated with teachers who have not the kindly spirit of a true teacher, or be kept marking time by incompetents, they have favored larger exactions and closer supervision over the teaching, to the end that it might be in accord with the best educational opinion. All this is yearly becoming more and more apparent in the laws, and it is advancing the great body of American teachers along philosophical lines steadily and rapidly. American teachers have always had freedom. Now they are learning to exercise it, and they are being permitted to exercise it only in accord with educational principles.

The American school system is a product of conditions in a new land, and it is adapted to those conditions. It is expressive of the American spirit, and it is energizing, culturing, and ennobling that spirit. It is settling down to an orderly and symmetrical institution, it is becoming scientific, and it is doing its work efficiently. It exerts a telling influence upon every person in the land, and is proving that it is supplying an education broad enough to become the support of free institutions.

III

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE

IN the complex system of government set up in the United States, the sovereign authority is lodged in different places. It always flows from the people. It is equably distributed among the three great coördinate departments of both our state and federal governments. It is divided exclusively between the governments of the states and the government of the Union. Counties, cities, towns, districts, have no sovereign authority. So much of the sovereign authority as does not rest with the general government does rest with the states. As between the United States and the states, the division is clean cut and is upon the basis of subjects. In this division matters educational are left to the authority of the states, and it logically follows that, upon such matters, that authority is complete.

The United States is powerless to *control* and does not assume to *manage* the educational interests of the people; the states have full authority to do so.

Cities and towns and districts have no power in themselves to erect schools. The original theory that education is a matter of private or parental concern was abandoned with the advent of manhood suffrage, or as soon as the power of the voter began to be felt. The later theory that government might appropriately encourage education by gifts, and ought to see that the children of the poor are given the privileges of the schools, has been supplemented by the broader and nobler theory that the state is bound to exercise its sovereign prerogative to take so much of the property of the people as may be necessary to provide the best educa-

tional facilities which the world's experience has devised for every child, not as a benefaction, but in satisfaction of the natural and inherent rights of American citizenship. And this is equally for the good of the citizen and for the security of the state. The only instrument with which this theory is or can be carried out is the sovereign power of direct taxation, and that power vests in the state government exclusively.

The power which can levy taxes is bound to see that the taxes are wisely used to advance the common good. There is a wide difference between the people of a local community being a law unto themselves and being the supporters and executors of a general policy of the state. There is abundant play for "home rule" in wisely carrying out the fundamental principles of the whole people. No home rule can be accepted which is not in line with general rule or is not wise rule; certainly this is true in matters educational.

The functions of an American state touching education run into every instrumentality which makes for physical, intellectual, and moral advancement in harmonious company. They have rapidly multiplied in recent years, and they will continue to multiply.

It is fundamental, as we have already seen, that the state is bound to see that a suitable elementary school is maintained within reach of every home, and, to have a *suitable* school, a house must be provided which is sufficient and which is hygienically above reproach. The school must be in the hands of one who can teach, and its work must be in harmony with such general plans as lead toward ideal results. This means much in the way of general authority, and it points to an infinite variety of details. It involves the making of plans, the nourishing of a system to its fullest completeness and effectiveness; and it involves the exercise

of the power of general taxation and the right of local direction. It makes necessary a knowledge of the world's ripest experience touching schoolhouses, the training and treatment of school-teachers, and the trend and quality of school work. All this implies knowledge and powers which are not to be supposed to be common in local communities, for the knowledge is expert and the powers are general. Unless the state is moving, the purposes of the state are not being fulfilled. The state which is not inspecting and improving its schoolhouses; which is not preparing, regulating, and advancing its teaching service; which is not shaping and stimulating and systematizing the work of its schools, through a department of the state government, and through universal expert supervision, to which it has given a dignity of standing and authority sufficient to justify the theories upon which its every act is taken, is a state whose government is in hands that are nerveless, or whose people are strangely and basely indifferent to the evolution of educational thought and to the stern logic of educational events.

It is the function of the state to define the platform upon which the public schools stand and promulgate the theories upon which they operate. It is to keep their territory free from religious intolerance while it advances the common belief in the reality of a living and omniscient God. It is to banish partisanship from the council chamber. It is to train teachers. It is to let experienced teachers determine the fitness of beginners. It is to lay stress upon spirit and adaptation as well as upon readiness to answer troublesome conundrums. It is to put teachers upon the merit basis; let the incompetent resign; absolve the successful from frequent examinations and from competition with the worthless in the matter of pay; assure them immunity from harassing annoyances, and guarantee them entire security of position, while directing their intellectual activity and stim-

ulating their moral sense so that the whole body may continually advance to a higher and yet higher plane of professional standing and usefulness.

It is to keep the work upon scientific lines, — anchored to earth, yet abreast of the world's matured thought. It should *do* things as well as discuss them. It should make brain culture and spirit culture easier and more far-reaching through the exercise of the eye and the use of the hand, and it should dignify the manual industries by putting a knowledge of good English and an appetite for learning behind them. It should make the work of the schools ethical as well as intellectual. They must know the history and the traditions of the race, that they may inspire respect for the institutions of human society. They must know the value of free thought, but they must remember that the quantity of real liberty which people enjoy is likely to be proportioned to the quantity of restraint they will suffer, if the schools would fulfill their mission and develop respect for the law, while they impress upon youth the invaluable prerogatives of American citizenship and the awful responsibility of the exercise of governmental power.

Advanced learning has always been the forerunner of the best elementary schools. It is not the lower schools which sustain the higher schools, but it is the high schools which lift up the primary and grammar schools. There are few communities in America so benighted as to make no pretense of sustaining some sort of an elementary school. It may be a very poor affair, — afflicted with ignorance and poverty in the country and encompassed with indifference and politics and greed in the city; but everywhere there will be found some show of an elementary school. The problem is to get that school upon a rational basis, put bad and unscientific teaching out of it, and make it a centre of life and power. It is a great problem, because the people who are

willing to accept anything in the name of teaching, and who cannot discriminate between the good and the bad, are innumerable. Many agencies must combine to solve this problem, and of these the most effectual has been, and will continue to be, a well-organized system of high schools, surmounted by the colleges and crowned by the universities. The college and the university will fix the plane of the high school, and the high school will, in turn, determine the character of the elementary schools.

There is no more gratifying sign upon the field of American education than the extent to which the children of the people are thinking of getting through the high school and then going to college and the university. Despite the aid which the national government has given to it, the higher learning is the child of the sovereign power of the state, rather than of the United States. The high schools are more than likely to owe their existence or their vitality to the inspiring oversight and the nourishing support of the state, and, regardless of the national gifts, the state universities have resulted from the initiative, and are dependent upon the support, of the states. And fortunate indeed is the commonwealth which has statesmanship capable of seeing that the way to build its future greatness is upon foundations of liberal learning.

Upon principle, and as the result of experience, the state is bound to give the school system independent autonomy. There is nothing in the written law to prevent the lawmakers of the state from using the board of aldermen to administer so much of the state educational system as relates to a given city, but there is no lack of reasons against it. The reasons against a mixed system of administration are no less cogent than against school administration by the board of aldermen exclusively. Indeed, it is unquestionably better that some one shall have undivided authority and responsi-

bility. There is no constitutional prohibition against the state legislature assuming to require professors in state universities and normal schools, and the conductors of teachers' institutes, to pass examinations by the state civil service board, whose function it is to pass upon the intellectual acumen of candidates for clerkships in the departments; nor is there any such prohibition against the superintendents, supervisors, and teachers in the great cities being required to satisfy the minds of the municipal civil service board, whose mission it is to see how patriots in quest of municipal support can read and write and cipher. But there is a prohibitory law of common sense in the way of it. The proposition is absurd. Indeed, it is worse. It is so vicious, so opposed to the spirit which must pervade the schools — if they are to be worth the having at the present cost — that the mere suggestion should call every intelligent citizen to his feet. It is idle to mince matters. There are some educational storm centres in the country, and there are considerable areas where the indications are threatening. The schools will be mere forms, deadening instead of life-giving, unless the system is complete, unless it stands upon its own footing and is independent of opposing forces, unless the different parts support one another, unless there is a symmetrical whole resting upon the necessities and supported by the authority of the state, and unless the whole is administered by genuine friends, who are chosen because of their adaptation to the service, is universally supervised by pedagogical experts, and is generally taught by professional teachers.

It is an important function of the state to equalize school privileges throughout its jurisdiction. The state is also bound to seek to equalize taxation for the ordinary running expenses of the schools. Those who are educationally or financially strong must be required to help the weak. The

good results outside the state must be made known in it. Good teachers in other states are to be encouraged to come into it. The latest information is to be diffused, and the best facilities extended in all directions, and all the property of the state's population is to bear the expense as equitably as may be, if there be common educational fellowship and general intellectual advancement. It is particularly the business of the state to insure this.

But the state has functions touching education which go beyond the organization and administration of the public schools, unless we include in the public school system, as perhaps we should, the institutions of learning erected upon private foundations and operated with the common approbation. It goes without saying that the man or woman whose wealth and sense have combined to establish a college or university, without placing un-American conditions upon the gift, is a benefactor of the state. Of course such gifts are to be encouraged, and resulting institutions are to be brought into sympathetic and coöperative relations with the general educational system of the commonwealth. In better phrase, perhaps, they are to become part and parcel of that system. The same may be said of legitimate private educational enterprises, even though they may be operated for gain. They may round out the state educational system to more perfect symmetry and completeness. Benevolence or private enterprise can do things which are very desirable in the educational work of a great state, but which the taxing power cannot do. They are to be thanked and their undertakings made effective.

But educational quackery is to be prohibited and punished; and educational quackery is running riot. The frauds which are imposing upon the credulity and taking the money of the people under high-sounding educational names should be closed up, and punished with a

strong hand. All states may well follow the lead of New York in fining and imprisoning people who use the title "college" or "university," or who presume to confer the time honored educational degrees, except with the approbation of constituted educational authorities. The duty of guarding the gateway to the learned professions, and of putting a stop to the miserable attempts to build professional expertness upon little or nothing, is a duty which rests upon the state. In short, it falls upon the sovereign power to encourage the worthy and visit its wrath upon the wicked, in educational as in all other directions.

The state has educational functions beyond the maintenance of the schools. It is bound to help on whatever contributes to the sound information and promotes the culture of the people. Voluntary assemblages are to be encouraged. Discussion and publicity are the safety valves of democratic society. Home study is to be aided and guided. Local libraries may well be subsidized, if need be, at least up to the point where they can stand alone. The state which can put a mark upon its map wherever there is a town or village library, and find its map well covered, will take care of itself. Art collections are upon the same footing as libraries. That state is a great state whose leading public men give genuine support, not a support born of ignorance and the lack of courage to refuse, but a sympathetic support, to scientific research, in the hope of still further breaking the bonds of scientific truth and hastening the time when the truth shall make the whole world free. That state will outrun its neighbors which will give a strong and willing hand to the good cause of industrial and decorative art. It is peculiarly within the functions of the state to aid and promote architecture. Public buildings are worth more than they cost, jobbery and all, if they are architecturally effective. What could not a state do for the common culture by

making sure that every schoolhouse is erected upon artistic lines? All this, and more, is clearly within the province of the self-governing state.

One may ask if this does not savor too strongly of paternalism, and leave little or nothing to the initiative of the people. It has no flavor of paternal government about it. There is no element of it which contributes to the support of the people in any instance. It does not trench so much as the breadth of a hair upon the sound doctrine that the people must support the government and not count upon the government to support the people. It leaves everything to the initiative of the people. It interdicts nothing. Every man is free to do what he will, if it is not inconsistent with the common rights and opposed to the common weal. Indeed, all acts of democratic government are upon the initiative of the people. It inspires individual initiative and encourages every individual impulse toward the promotion of the common good. It stands in the way of nothing but ignorance and selfishness, and it stops nothing but interference with the common interests by overgrown local officialism. There is little danger that it will do that as completely as may be desired.

The purpose of the American states certainly looks to the common security; but it looks infinitely further. In framework and in object they are striving to afford the fullest opportunity for individual improvement, and assure the uniform intellectual and moral advancement of the whole mass. Their constitutions are more representative of the growth of constitutional freedom, and its resulting incentives to the intellectual and moral evolution of the multitudes, than any other written documents in the history of the human race. Throughout the Union these constitutions have marked similarity. Those of the newer states are, in the essentials, modeled upon those of the older ones, and

those of the older states, antedating the federal Constitution, and of infinitely wider scope, were built upon the great charters of English liberty. They were buttressed by the decisions of the English common-law courts, and enlightened and enriched by the ideals of a God-fearing people, with able and undaunted leaders, who did their work in the midst of, or soon after, a successful war for independence, and were, therefore, resentful of interference and jealous of their prerogatives, and were moving in a new land with no associations or traditions to place the slightest limitation upon their action. Adopted directly by the people, they are incapable of amendment except by the vote of the people. In breadth and scope, in the spirit which they manifest, and the opportunities for good which they offer, there is nothing else in the written law of the world, and never has been, to compare with them. They open the way for the highest possibilities. The people of these states *may* do whatsoever they think best for the common good, so long as they respect the rights of conscience and give no special privileges to individuals or to classes. They are expected to do it because they have been given the commission to do it. They are to do it in the only way they have for assuring results, that is, by general plans of their own, through executive officers and agents chosen as they think best, and responsible directly to the state, which is the exclusive possessor of the only power which can do it at all. They will hardly consent to turn aside from doing it because of personal or local objections, for they will be likely to remember that, if the scope of our plan is unprecedented, the measure of our ultimate success or our dismal humiliation will be unprecedented also.

IV

THE LEGAL BASIS OF THE SCHOOLS

THE term "public schools" has a special and technical meaning. It designates schools supported by general taxation, managed by public officers, taught by teachers having legal authority; institutions in which all the people have entire equality of responsibility and of right. It is the purpose here to consider the constitutional, the statutory, and the common law relations which these institutions sustain to our system of government, to our civil organization in its various departments, and to citizenship in the country.

The American public school is a unique institution. It is true that some of its characteristics are from time to time being copied in other countries. The common schools of France and Germany are essentially free. But the distinguishing features of our public schools do not, and in the nature of things cannot, obtain in other lands without revolutionary changes in their systems of government and in the thought of the people. The common schools of America have been of gradual growth, and have come to their present state only in recent years. That state has been evolved out of the intelligence and the experience of our people as well as out of the necessities of our plan of government. We tax all people and all property for the support of our schools, and we take the management of the schools into the public hands for the protection of property and the safety of the government. It is the outworking of our democracy.

Civil liberty and self-government are dependent upon the strength and successful operation of certain guaranties

of rights and checks upon power which the text-writers call "institutions." Each of these institutions has an autonomy of its own, an individuality and a completeness by itself. Taken separately, these institutions will not avail much to promote the public weal, but taken collectively, acting as a system, they will support the temple of liberty. The more of them there are, the more firmly will they support it. Institutions spring from conscience and intelligence, and are the result of years, frequently of centuries, of growth and development. The more substantial they become, that is, the more strongly rooted in the intelligence and conscience of the people, the greater and the more enduring will the liberty be.

Institutions do not ordinarily owe their existence to any express law, but arise spontaneously out of existing conditions and circumstances. In time, self-grown usage and positive legislation mingle with each other in determining their character and the scope and nature of their work and influence. So it has been with our public schools. In the beginning, the schools were purely private enterprises for gain, or were supported by charity, either private or public. As the population has advanced and become more and more heterogeneous in character, the necessity of governmental support and supervision has become more and more manifest, until, by a gradual process, the schools have reached their present status. That status is fixed and defined by a body of laws, arising out of common custom and long usage, written in the constitutions and statutes of the country, construed and declared by the determinations of authorized courts and officers.

The schools or their concerns have not been in issue in the federal courts to any extent and then only collaterally. The only determinations of interest by the United States courts, as fixing the status of the public schools, are those

construing the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, known as the Civil Rights Clause. These decisions expressly recognize and declare the right and duty of the states to provide for and manage schools, but hold that the federal authority will intervene to insure equal advantages to both races. It is held that the two races may be provided for in separate schools, the classification being left to state authority, so long as schools for colored children are as good as those provided for whites. (*Bertonneau v. Directors, etc.*, 3 Woods, 177.)

In another case a United States court enjoined and forbade the payment to a school used exclusively for white children of such portion of the state school moneys as was apportioned upon the basis of colored children of school age residing in the district. (*Claybrook v. Owenboro*, 23 Fed. Rep., 634.)

Again, where a city levied a tax for school purposes but provided that money collected from whites should be used only for white children's schools, and money collected from colored persons, only for schools for colored children, the result of which was to afford enlarged facilities for one class as against the other, it was held that the arrangement was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and unconstitutional. Taxation must be equitable and facilities equal. (*Claybrook v. Owenboro*, 16 Fed. Rep., 297.)

But only in the enforcement of the Civil Rights Clause of the Constitution, and then only incidentally and for the same reason that they would look into the acts of common carriers, places of amusement or of entertainment, or any other interest in which all inhabitants have common rights, and by express provision of the federal Constitution are entitled "to the equal protection of the laws," do the United States courts take any cognizance of the management of the public schools.

Upon the several states does our governmental policy devolve the duty of supporting and supervising common schools, and as the duty of the states to promote education is declared in their constitutions, so the manner in which they severally perform that duty is found in their statute laws and in the decisions of their courts and officers. Even a casual study of these brings out in the most interesting way the different stages in the development of our free public schools. By a gradual process of change, the tuition fees have been abolished; the idea of charity to such as were unable to pay tuition has been discarded; the highest power of the state has been exercised to raise taxes for free schools; the tax levy has been increased from time to time in order to provide still larger accommodations and still better equipment; and permanent funds have been established and added to in order to protect against any possible emergency. On the other hand, the supervision of the state has gradually become closer and closer. It is destined to become much more so. The schools have been related to one another under county or district supervisory officers, and the whole body in the state has been brought under the general supervision of state superintendents or boards. The state determines the character and the powers of the boards of education in the cities, as it does the number and size of the districts in the county. It controls the character of the buildings; it says who may teach and what shall be taught. It says who may attend, and it frequently, also, says who *shall* attend. It collects statistics for the guidance of its law-makers, to the end that the whole system may be so directed as to produce the best results for all the people.

It does not leave the matter to the uncertain care of local communities. By a wise policy of local administration, in full accord with our American self-governing way of doing

public business, it leaves certain matters to the qualified electors, or officers chosen by them, in each city or district, and thus it educates the people to self-government, and ordinarily produces schools best suited to the needs of each locality. But it leaves no more of this power to each locality than experience shows it may with safety, and not hazard its general policy to maintain schools in character with its general system, free and accessible to all the people. It encourages each locality to raise local moneys for school purposes, but, through state school funds, it makes sure that schools of its own creation and subject to its own management shall dot the face of its entire territory, whether they are enlarged and improved by additional local taxation or not.

It is expressly declared that, while the schools are not national, neither are they local institutions. Rather they are state institutions, maintained and controlled by the state that they may contribute to its greatness and the happiness of all the people by assuring an education to every one.

It is not only enunciated in a general policy which has obtained in every commonwealth and found illustration in common usage, but it is expressly declared in the statutes, in the debates and acts of the lawmakers, and in the decisions of the courts. The constitution of the state of New York provides that no person shall be eligible to the legislature who is "an officer under a city government." A case in point is that of a member of the board of education of the city of Albany who was elected to the legislature and whose seat was contested on the ground that he was not eligible because of the constitutional provision referred to. Although the charter of the city of Albany enumerated members of the board of education among the city officers, the legislative committee on privileges

and elections, after the fullest argument by counsel, reported unanimously that a member of a board of education of a city was in no sense a city officer, but was an agent *of the state*, engaged in carrying on the educational system and policy of the state, and, therefore, not within the constitutional limitation, and the report was approved in the Assembly by all parties and without a division.

It has been held in the courts that the trustees of school districts are neither city, county, town, nor village officers. (*People v. Bennett*, 54 Barb., 480.)

In an action brought against the city of New York for the acts of an officer of the board of education of that city, it was decided in the court of last resort, after a stubborn contest, that the city was not liable, as it had no control over the board of education, and could not be held liable for the acts of any of its officers or agents. (*Ham v. The Mayor, etc.*, 70 N. Y., 459.)

These are not isolated cases; there are many of them. They are not peculiar to New York; the principle is the same everywhere, and will be found enunciated in the judicial decisions of all the states.

Then, too, the public schools of each state have become related to one another in a common system or organization maintained, supervised, and controlled by the authority of the state government, pursuant to constitutional and statutory provisions, with such additional local help as the people of localities will voluntarily extend. They are supported by general taxation, and are free to all children within specified ages, and together form one of the institutions which guarantee the liberties of a self-governing people.

The precise legal status of this institution in each state is necessarily dependent upon the provisions of the several state constitutions and statutes. It is, of course, not possible in this connection to attempt any examination,

in detail, of these different systems of laws. The different states inherited a common jurisprudence. Naturally enough they have extended it along the same general lines. Legislation has been copied. Like conditions beget similar legislation and similar construction and interpretation of the same. The school laws of the newer states have been largely copied on the models furnished by the older ones, and the decisions of the older have been commonly accepted in the newer. Therefore, there are certain principles common to the entire country, which may be set forth as fixing and defining the legal status of the public schools. Indeed, it may be said that the laws concerning the school system of the country have a completeness in themselves; that the system stands upon its own basis and has an autonomy peculiar to itself.

Persons charged by law with the management and supervision of the schools have authority to do all things necessary to promote the general purpose of the system. Subject to special statutory provisions, which vary but little in the main, they may provide buildings, purchase supplies, certify and employ teachers, fix the time of sessions, regulate the attendance of and classify pupils, determine the course of instruction each pupil must pursue, and do whatever else is incidental to the attainment of the general object of the institution. The schools do not stand helpless before the demands of individual parents. Patrons must conform to the system and not expect the system to conform to their individual whims. It must be assumed that the school system is more likely to determine rightly the mental development of the child, and is better qualified than the parent to say what classes it should enter and what studies it should pursue. If the particular teacher to whom the subject is presented falls into error, the avenue of appeal to the highest school authority is wide open.

The parent who brings his child to the public school must submit him to the arrangement and discipline of the school. Attendance of reasonable regularity and proper punctuality may be expected, and the child must be free from contagious diseases and in such a state of cleanliness as not to be injurious or obnoxious to other pupils, or he may be debarred from the privileges of the school. So, too, may a child be refused admission to the school, who is so vicious or morally impure as to be beyond control or likely to corrupt the lives of his associates. The thing always to be kept in view is the interest and advantage of the great body of pupils who come in condition, physically and morally, fit for association with others, or who can be brought to such condition without the help of either the board of health or the police. The operations of these departments must be kept upon their own ground. If the school regulations, written or unwritten, are unreasonable, they may be called in question in the appropriate place and overridden; if the school system itself requires modification, it may be brought about either by legislation or election, as changes are ordinarily made in our public affairs in this country. But until modifications are made, the system as it is must be respected, and its regulations must be observed by all persons seeking its advantages or in any way coming in contact with it.

On the other hand, the school system has responsibility and liability as well as authority. It is bound to provide suitable school buildings; that is, buildings suited to their uses, and constructed and maintained with reference to the health and comfort of pupils. The public cannot assume the care of children in its schools without exercising caution in protecting them from physical harm. Discipline may be maintained by force if need be in places where a better way has not yet been learned. The common law

of the land has always recognized the right of school authorities to inflict corporal punishment, and this rule has not yet been much interfered with by statute, although it has been to some extent by authorized local regulations. But where such punishment is inflicted, it must not be excessive or brutal, or it becomes an assault which may be avenged both by the civil and criminal law. School officers are subject to the same general rules of law as apply to all official conduct, though it must be admitted that they very commonly manifest a deplorable amount of ignorance of the fact. They cannot be personally interested in any agreement or understanding to which they are officially a party, without violating the criminal law. They are personally liable for any exercise of authority beyond that conferred upon them, as they are also for any loss to their city or district by reason of neglect of official duty. If this fact causes any surprise, it is only because of the extreme leniency with which school officers have been treated. Indeed, the legal liability of the public school system, its officers and teachers, is much greater than is generally understood, and must inevitably be still greater in the future, as the institution settles into more orderly and systematic methods of procedure, when its powers and obligations must become more thoroughly fixed and more completely enunciated and understood.

The public schools stand in precisely the same relation not only to every citizen, but to every inhabitant of the land. What the high seas are to the sailor, what the king's highway is to the landsman, the public schools are to every child on the road to knowledge. Equality of obligation in maintenance, and equality of right in enjoyment, is the legend which the law would write across the front of every public schoolhouse. This road to learning is the common property of a people differing widely in intelli-

gence, in traditions, in opinions, in morals, in means, in creeds; differing even in the power to improve their conditions, and the power to influence circumstances about them. But no matter what one's rank or station, no matter whether the president of a railway or the man who watches the track, no matter with what church he worships or whether he worships at all, no matter whether a republican or a democrat, his legal obligations and his legal rights are as fixed and as inviolable in the schools as upon the public highway. In each case he must help make the road for all; in each case he must put nothing in it which will prevent or interfere with another's use; in each case he must use it in a way consistent with like use by all the rest.

Even more than this. The law forbids anything in connection with the public schools, which invalidates or abridges any of the rights of citizenship or of domicile guaranteed by our other American institutions. Moral development must inevitably accompany intellectual growth in training humanity for good citizenship. Every influence of the school-room promotes moral growth. A system which commands regularity and punctuality and cleanliness and studiousness and obedience; which exacts politeness and generosity towards associates and respect for authority; which arouses ambition and inspires courage; which exalts the truth and is administered with justice; which rests upon the hearts of a Christian people and reaches up into the realms of heaven, can, in its beneficent operations, produce nothing less than moral growth and development. The theologians will tell us that there is no sound morality which does not rest upon religious truth. It is safer for a layman to admit than to dispute it. If they are right, then the school system rests upon a foundation of religious truth.

In any event, further than this the public cannot go. The high governmental power which levies and collects taxes cannot be invoked to promote or repress the interest of any section of the population, for any purpose less than the highest good of all. If the people will divide into sects, and they always will, then the special interests of each sect must be promoted by its own effort and at its own cost.

If it be asked why this high power should be invoked to compel the support of a public school system when some sects or denominations object to educating their children in common schools and assert their desire and ability to assume the burden of such education, the answer is ready and it is this: it is not deemed prudent to leave the support and control of the schools to any power short of the government itself. It is not public policy to promote class and sect distinctions, but to build up and consolidate a homogeneous people. Any division of educational responsibility along sectarian lines, or any failure to maintain public schools by the government and for all the people, promotes class interests, makes vicious teaching possible, endangers entire lack of school facilities in some quarters, leads away from our cherished traditions and our confident belief. The public school is the logical and necessary sequence of our American plan. It is the essential accompaniment of our other institutions. This is the deliberate conclusion of our people as declared in the words and in the manifest spirit and purpose of our law.

It is an obligation resting upon government, as upon individuals, to foster and encourage all good works, of which education is by no means the least. But such is not the only relationship in which the public school system stands to the government in this country. Its life is dependent upon no such uncertainty as the faithful discharge of a

moral obligation, either by individuals or that aggregation of individuals called the government. It is warp and woof of our governmental system as much as the franchise, the judiciary, the post-office, the militia, or the internal revenue service. In a legal sense, as well as a moral one, it is deemed more important than many of our other institutions, for some of them could be dispensed with, while this one is believed vital to the endurance of a social organization where the "will of the people is the law of the land." It rests upon conscience, and is the outcome of experience and forethought. It has a completeness by itself. It is hedged about by a system of laws, already well defined, but continually becoming more complete, harmonious, and substantial. These laws impose equal obligations and pledge equal privileges. The system has all the power requisite to the attainment of its general purpose; that is, the permanence of the state through good and intelligent citizenship. It may draw from the people the means for its support, and it may make all lawful regulations conducive to the desired results. It has responsibility as well as authority, a moral responsibility, perhaps above any other branch of the public service, and a legal accountability no less exacting than any other. Supported by all, and free to the use of all, there must be nothing about it to which any can object for conscience' sake, and each must use it so as not to interfere with like use by all the rest.

V

ILLITERACY AND COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE

SOME one has said that America is a country where no one is compelled to do anything. Certain it is that the democratic temperament is so universal in America that compulsory processes, save for interests that are generally thought to be imperative, are extremely difficult of execution. This difficulty has been met wherever the effort has been made to secure or to enforce laws requiring attendance upon the schools. The cause is not to be attributed to any indifference to the importance of education, for in no land has the public recognition of this been more common or the provision for it been more universal and munificent; the trouble has arisen from the disinclination of legislators and administrative officers to compel the people in anything which is not clearly seen to be vital to the public safety. So marked has this been that practically all effort to require general and regular attendance at school was left to the officers and teachers until the labor organizations came to their assistance for the purpose of lessening the competitions with adult labor in the shops and the factories as well as for assuring schooling to the children of the wage earners.

It is more than fifty years since school attendance laws were first enacted in this country, but not until very recently have they begun to take form which would make them effective. Commonly they have declared the duty of the citizen to send his children to school and the duty of the state to assure schooling to every child, but they

have not fixed the ages within which all children must be in school, they have not required lists of all children in order to know that all are accounted for, they have not given point to the fact that a parent who robs a child of an education merits punishment until he will be glad to perform a parent's and a citizen's duty, and they have not provided officers seriously charged with the execution of attendance laws and punished them for failure to perform their duties.

Public sentiment not only produces statutes, it is produced by them. The common thought of the masses is guided and seasoned by legislative enactments. If those enactments seem rational, if they spring from world experience and are sustained by the opinions of publicists and statesmen, they are accepted by the people. If such enactments are executed with steadiness and uniformity they consolidate sentiment and fix the common thought of the country. This process has been going on for many years in other lands less democratic than ours, until we are confronted with the serious fact that in many other countries the attendance upon the schools is not only far more general than here, but the necessity of schooling is much more universally recognized by the masses.

The bureau of statistics at Berlin determines that of all the recruits in the German army in 1903, but one in 2500 was illiterate. In Sweden and Norway it was but one in 1250; in Denmark, one in 500; in Switzerland, one in 166; in Holland, one in 40; in France, one in 16. In 1902, in England and Scotland, one man in 40 and one woman in 40 were unable to write their names when married. In other words, it seems that there are more than four times as many illiterates in the United States as there are in England and Scotland, and infinitely more than there are

in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and the German Empire.

It is probably the fact that in Germany the law is so exact in its provisions and so uniformly enforced, and has therefore become so universally believed in by the people, that in the city of Berlin, with a million and a half of people, there are not at any time ten children out of school when they ought to be there.

The necessity of having children in school has been inbred in the life and thought of the German people. All their plans are made to conform to it. The enforcement of laws or royal decrees for a long time has trained the common sentiment and resulted in a universal usage. It is thought as necessary to have children go to school regularly as to have them eat regularly.

A fair beginning has just been made in this direction in America. Not only has a substantial advance been made in very recent years in the way of new legislation, but the necessities of the matter are being much more clearly recognized and the principles which must be incorporated in an attendance law to make it effective are much more generally understood.

In the United States, Florida, Maryland (except the city of Baltimore), Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas have no school attendance laws whatever.

Arkansas and Georgia, in their child labor laws, forbid the employment of any child under eighteen in the one case and under sixteen in the other, unless he shall have attended school twelve weeks during the previous year. In Alabama no child between twelve and sixteen shall be employed unless he shall attend school for eight weeks in every year of employment.

The law of North Carolina exempts eleven counties by name, and is optional elsewhere upon a referendum vote

by township or school district. The law of Virginia is optional upon a referendum vote by county, city, or town.

Georgia has a special referendum law applying to Richmond County, North Carolina has a special law applying to Goldsboro township in Wayne County, and Tennessee has two special laws applying to Campbell and Scott counties, respectively.

Thirty-eight states and two territories have compulsory attendance laws which are more or less effective. In practically all the states children from the age of seven or eight to that of fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen, are required to attend school for a portion or the whole of the school year. In Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Washington; in cities of the first class in Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky; in all city school districts of Nebraska and Michigan; in St. Louis, Missouri, and in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the attendance within the required ages must be during all the time that the schools are in session. In New York it must be for eight months in all school districts having a population below five thousand. In each city or in each school district having a population of five thousand or more, and employing a superintendent of schools, attendance is required during the entire period that the schools are in session. In Wisconsin, outside of Milwaukee, the period is eight months in the cities and six months in the rest of the state. In Vermont it is twenty-eight weeks. In California, it is five months, of which eighteen weeks must be consecutive. In Utah it is twenty weeks, of which ten must be consecutive. In Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Iowa, Michigan, outside of the cities, Nebraska, except city school districts, Nevada, Virginia, South Dakota, and North

#Ind. State Law - all children 6-14 must attend school 6 mo. of the year.

Carolina it is from twelve to eighteen weeks. In Kentucky outside the cities it is eight weeks. In Delaware the period is five months, which the authorities of a school district may reduce to not less than three. In Oklahoma the period is from three to six months in the discretion of the local school board. In Wyoming the period is six months.

In the states having such laws violations are punished by fines varying from two dollars to one hundred dollars in amount. In California, Delaware, Indiana, cities of Kentucky, in Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Wisconsin, and Wyoming, the offender may be imprisoned. In New York, Delaware, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Washington, the school moneys may be withheld from a city or district which neglects to enforce the law.

About four fifths of our American illiterates were born, or their parents were born, among the most unfavored people of the Old World. But that fact must not lead us to suppose that we have but few illiterates born in this country. The fact is, that in many of our states we have more illiterates whose parents are natives than those whose parents are foreign born. In New York in 1900 there were 29,188 of the former, and 18,162 of the latter. And New York is not at all exceptional.

The more advanced states are beginning to provide for an enumeration of children of school age in order to supply information as to who should be in school, and also for special officers whose duty it is to see that all are accounted for.

A noticeable difference between the compulsory attendance laws in America and in the more advanced European nations is that with us attendance within specified ages is required, while with them the attendance must con-

tinue until a specified measure of educational proficiency is proved to the satisfaction of school officers.

There is no doubt of effective attendance laws reducing illiteracy. The comparisons between the European nations themselves, as well as between our states and the European nations, are exceedingly interesting; and the comparisons of one American state with another are no less so. In Italy with no law in force, the percentage of illiterates above twenty years of age is fifty-two, while in France with an effective law, it is less than five. In Russia with no law, it is sixty-one per cent, while in Holland with a good law, it is two per cent, and in Sweden and Denmark it is less than one per cent. In Spain it is sixty-eight per cent with no law, and in England with a stringent law, the percentage of illiteracy almost disappears.

Of course, other factors than compulsory attendance upon school enter in some degree into the measure of illiteracy in a state, but there can be no doubt about systematic and enforced school requirements being the overwhelming factor. The following figures taken from the United States census of 1900 are conclusive:—

Percentage of illiterate voters in states having compulsory attendance laws:—

California	6.2	Nevada	12.8
Colorado	4.1	New Hampshire	7.9
Connecticut	6.8	New Jersey	6.9
Idaho	5.4	New York	5.9
Illinois	4.8	North Dakota	5.4
Indiana	5.6	Ohio	4.8
Iowa	2.7	Oregon	4.8
Kansas	3.4	Pennsylvania	7.7
Kentucky	18.8	Rhode Island	9.2
Maine	6.4	South Dakota	5.0
Massachusetts	6.4	Utah	3.7
Michigan	5.5	Vermont	7.9
Minnesota	4.1	Washington	3.4
Missouri	7.0	West Virginia	12.9
Montana	6.1	Wisconsin	5.5
Nebraska	2.5	Wyoming	4.3

Percentage of illiterate voters in states without compulsory attendance laws : —

Alabama	33.7	Mississippi	33.8
Arkansas	20.0	North Carolina	29.4
Delaware	14.0	South Carolina	35.1
Florida	22.1	Tennessee	21.7
Georgia	31.6	Texas	15.4
Louisiana	37.6	Virginia	25.3
Maryland	12.5		

The proportion of illiterates is smaller than it used to be. In 1870 there were 200 illiterates to each 1000 of population; in 1880 there were 170; in 1890 there were 133; in 1900 there were 107.

The states of Kentucky, Nevada, and West Virginia in the first table above may seem exceptional. They are really not so, for their compulsory laws are new or not enforced. The chief educational officer of Kentucky has officially said: "In the rural districts the law is almost a nullity." Similarly it has been said of Nevada: "The law has never been enforced. It is sometimes used to scare foreigners. As it now stands it is a dead letter. We cannot force the legislature to amend it." Of West Virginia it has also been said: "The law is new and not yet fully developed." The evidence seems conclusive that the sentiment of a state determines the percentage of illiteracy, and the best proof as well as the necessary instrument of a healthful public sentiment is a compulsory attendance law which compels. There will, of course, be special circumstances, like the presence of large cities, or of a large body of recent immigrants, or of particularly hard economic conditions, but ordinarily it may be said with entire confidence that a low rate of illiteracy and effective compulsory attendance upon the schools will be found to be companions in the same state.

Much has already been done in Europe to assure the

attendance of defective children; that is, the deaf, dumb, and blind, while practically nothing has been done in that direction in America. Much provision has been made for them in the more advanced states, but their attendance has not been made obligatory to any extent.

If we expect to find a larger percentage of illiteracy in the cities than in the country, we must be disappointed. The percentage of illiteracy in New York city, and in our other large cities, is less than in many rural counties, and is not greater than in the average rural county. The percentage of illiterates who are American born is much larger in the country than in the cities. Indeed, there are few if any rural counties which show so small a percentage of native illiterates as the largest cities show. The city and county of New York has a smaller percentage of illiterates who are the children of foreign born parents than any other county in the state of New York.

This may indicate how much more convenient the schools are in the city than in the country, and how much better the school attendance and child labor laws are enforced in the cities than in the country; but it also indicates that immigrant parents in the cities voluntarily send their children to school more regularly than do native born parents living in the country.

The facts clearly show that illiteracy is less prevalent in cities of more than 25,000 inhabitants than in smaller cities. They show that illiteracy is more common above twenty-five years of age than between ten and twenty-five. Illiteracy among children is rapidly decreasing in all sections of the country.

There is more illiteracy among women than men, but the difference is growing less, and it seems probable that before long there will be more among men than women.

Our American states are spending much more money for

popular education than is spent by the same number of people in any other country in the world. Why do we have so many unlettered people above ten years of age, and particularly why do we have so many more than in England, Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, Norway, or Germany?

The answer to this question is not very difficult. There are at least three reasons for it:—

First. We are now receiving vast numbers of immigrants from countries where illiteracy is very prevalent. It has not always been so. We formerly got most of our immigrants from the more intelligent countries of the Old World. Now we are getting most from the less favored nations. Although there is no reason for fear that their children cannot be educated and assimilated, both parents and children do add much to our percentage of illiteracy. But we get many immigrants from countries having less illiteracy than we have. One class somewhat offsets the other. It is hard to know what to do with illiterates who want to come to America from other lands. It is difficult, perhaps wrong, to deny them the privilege of coming, but clearly the matter requires much attention.

Second. We undertake more in our schools than other nations do in theirs, but the leading nations of Europe do what they undertake much more generally and completely than we do. In other words, in Europe there are classes and much caste. The people who have made and who execute the laws have not reasoned that every child ought to have a chance to get a liberal education, but they have reasoned that for the good of the nation every child must be required to go to school regularly between about six and fourteen years of age, that he may be sure of an elementary education.

Third. School attendance laws are enforced more systematically and completely in many other countries than

in America. Unhappily, the common sentiment of America does not sustain the enforcement of laws requiring the attendance of children at school, as the common sentiment of many other countries does. We have much more freedom in this country than many other countries have, but we have more false ideas about freedom than many of them have. There is the pinch.

Much depends upon the importance which in the popular mind attaches to the matter of sending children to school, and that in turn depends very largely upon what the government does.

It cannot be assumed that all parents wish or are even willing that their children shall go to school. There are parents who are idle and criminal and are without any interest in the well-being of their children and in the welfare of the state. There are parents who are neither idle nor vicious, but who are so lacking in outlook that they will keep their children at work without cause, when they should be in school. And there are still other parents whose necessities are real and overcome any interest they may have in the schooling of their children. Of course there are many children who are without parental care and interest.

In all such cases it is the imperative function of the state to intervene and not only see that the child has the training which his living in this country gives him as his natural right, but also that he is saved from being a load upon other people, and is prepared to carry his share of the burdens of the state and contribute his share to the prosperity and greatness of the state.

Experience has shown conclusively enough the steps by which alone this may be accomplished. Speaking generally they may be enumerated as follows:—

1. There must be a registration of all children and of their ages.

2. All within fixed ages must be in school or accounted for.

3. They must be in school at all times when the schools are in session.

4. Absence of children within the attendance limits of age must be for none but imperative reasons satisfactory to the attendance officers, such as sickness or physical disability, or they must be able to satisfy school officers that they are proficient in the work which children within the attendance age may be expected to acquire. Doubtless it would be even better if the only excuse for absence, aside from physical inability, should be proficiency in work rather than the attainment of an age limit.

5. Parents or legal guardians must be held responsible for attendance, and neglect must be punished by fine at first and then by imprisonment sufficient to emphasize the seriousness of the offense.

6. Special officers must be charged with the execution of attendance laws. They must operate upon a well ordered system. They must be sufficiently compensated to enable them to be respected and must be vested with powers which will cause them to be regarded. They must account for all children within the prescribed ages. They must be authorized to enter shops and factories where children are employed and apprehend employers who violate the school and labor laws. They must coöperate with teachers to reduce truancy to a minimum, and they must initiate proceedings to punish parents or guardians who are delinquent.

7. Attendance laws must apply evenly to all parts of the state, country as well as city.

8. Attendance officers must be subject to the direction and discipline of the general officers of the school system.

The uniform habit of having all children in school is

somewhat inherent and also somewhat dependent upon economic conditions. It is acquirable where it is not common. It will be acquired and become fixed under the steady and persistent demands of the state. It is imperative to the security of government, and the strength of it will measure the true greatness of a people. Illiteracy may be steadily and surely reduced by systematic policy, and the state which has the most heterogeneous or indifferent population, and which goes furthest in reducing illiteracy, should have the place of highest honor and respect in the American republic.

Compulsory attendance upon American schools is as yet in its earliest stages, but a good start has been made, public sentiment is ripening, and the movement must advance until it covers the land with very considerable uniformity and is enforced with very general effectiveness.

Surely the people of the United States are not willing to admit that we are permanently to have more ignorant men and women in this country than they have in other civilized countries.

Perhaps there is a factor in this problem that springs out of English and particularly out of American history, and lies deep down in the nation's caution and self-consciousness. Americans are fundamentally opposed to any unnecessary meddling with their affairs by the government. They have always had great confidence in a resourcefulness which seems able to meet any actual peril when the time comes. They attach the greatest importance to the free chance for every one.

It now appears as if it is quite as important to look after the rights of those who cannot look after their own rights to an elementary education as to hold out to the few the opportunities for an advanced education. If it is no more important, it is *as* important. And it will be a crowning

glory to our republican system if the nation will put away its youthful vanity, submit with cheerfulness to the regulations which really enlarge liberty, deepen the common respect for the law by enforcing it, meet difficulties in practical ways, and make certain that *all of its children have the elements and instruments of knowledge* as well as that the stronger ones have the chance to scale the mountain peaks of learning.

Summed up, we offer more schooling to all children than most other peoples do, but we are less forceful in requiring all children to be able to read and write than the better educated peoples are. We lay greater stress upon the rights of the child to all grades of learning than most other nations, but we do less to make certain that he learns to read and write than many nations do. We have ordinarily based our educational policies upon the need of protecting the suffrage and the safety of the Republic. There is little real danger. We can rise to almost any exigency. But ought we to invite exigencies? And above all, ought we not to assure every child the elements of knowledge and the implements of decent living, no matter what sort of parents he may have? Is not that one of the very highest ends of democratic as much as of monarchical government?

VI

THE CRUCIAL TEST OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

OUR public school system is in recent years being put to its crucial test in our large cities. The question is up whether the schools shall cease to represent all the people of the great cities; and the security of the public educational system of the country rests upon the determination of that question. The statement may seem unwarrantably strong. For the sake of clearness it may be well to look at the question directly from the point of view of the citizen. There is a public school within reach of every home in a given city. All residents, with or without children, have to support it. It is wholly managed by public authority. Education is compulsory. Having children, you must send them to this school regardless of its defects, or you must pay twice by sending them to a private one which you think competent to teach them, if such can be found. This school is to be tested by trial. Your children commence attendance. In a little time you find that attendance cannot be regular and long-continued without the impairment of health. Investigation shows that there is reason enough for this. There is not enough breathing space and sunlight. There is too close contact with other children, who are unclean. The hygienic conditions are bad. It is a struggle between the life of your child and unhealthful surroundings. You are a fool, or worse, if you do not bear a hand in that struggle and take care of the most precious possession the Almighty has permitted to come into your keeping.

Or, you may find that the teacher is unworthy of com-

panionship with a well-bred child, and incapable of teaching him. The child may know many things which it is very important to know, better than the teacher knows them. The child may shrink from association with the teacher for reasons which one may readily see; or, the teacher may be a good enough person, and ordinarily is, and yet may not know how to teach. You have learned something of what teaching is. You know that before a child can be taught he must come into agreeable and self-respecting relations with the teacher, and you see that this is impossible. You know, also, that before the school can be of any permanent advantage to the child, there must be originality, elasticity, and freedom on the part of the teacher, and you see that these are either not present, or not apparent.

The situation preys upon your mind. Your child is involved. Its physical and mental health is at stake. You seek redress. Going to the teacher, you see that she is not disposed, or is not allowed, to hold much converse with you. She refers you to the principal. He means rightly, but does not view things through your end of the telescope. He resents your imputations, or is powerless to give you relief. You go to the superintendent. At times he can help you, and if he can he will; but again, he would have to walk right into the jaws of official death to redress your wrongs. He has met many another on a similar errand. He sympathizes with you. He will treat you with civility, with patience, and with diplomacy. You may rely upon it that he will refrain from telling you all he knows. Your troubles grow and your exasperation waxes yet stronger. You go to the members of the board of education, only to find that they doubt your allegations, shuffle out of the responsibility, and are unable or unwilling to afford relief.

By this time you have realized that there are some serious difficulties encompassing the public school system, and that the officers of the schools are further from the citizen's reach than you had supposed. It is much more of a matter than you had imagined to secure public instruction for your child under conditions which will promote his physical, mental, and moral health. You may be able to pay twice for his schooling, but you are not able to submit serenely to an imposition inflicted in the name of all that is good by a government which you have always supposed you had a part in directing and which you believed rested upon a basis of justice to all. This will lead you to think a little more deeply. You must have some rights in this matter. Not only taxation and representation go together; taxation and rights go together. And what is the right of the citizen in the public schools? It certainly is not the mere privilege of paying for their support, or of voting for persons who select other persons who appoint still other persons to manage the business and teach the schools. The sum of the citizen's right in the schools is to have the business managed prudently and wisely, and the children taught sensibly and scientifically. And when this right is violated and there are no adequate and ready means of redress, the system is in danger of breaking, and it ought to break.

The officers and teachers of the schools will say and think that such troubles are not common, but citizens of intelligence who give these matters attention, and parents who see the results of the schools in the lives of their children, will say that they *are* common. The point of vision necessarily has much to do with the outlook. It would be better if the points of vision could be exchanged now and then. The troubles indicated are not rare in large cities. They are so common that they have already exerted a

powerful influence to drive the well-to-do people out of relations with the common schools. And by the well-to-do is not meant the independently rich, but the great, self-respecting, comfortable class, who earn their living and pay their debts, who have made homes which are both dependent and independent, and who give substance and balance to the social and governmental organization. If the time comes when the common schools are sustained only or mainly to keep the slums from destroying us, then the character of the schools and the chief glory of the American plan of government and of education will be gone; for that plan contemplates the intellectual and moral advancement of the whole mass quite as much as individual and physical security. If we permit the schools to become the schools of the poor alone, we permit what we have struggled heroically to prevent since the beginning of the government, — what in each generation we have succeeded in preventing through radical changes in our plans and theories. It would be un-American to believe that we shall not succeed again; but mere assurance of success does not remove the danger. The causes for the present educational conditions in many of our great cities may be briefly stated: —

1. The conditions of life become more diversified and more intense in the great cities, and it is therefore more difficult to hold the children in common association.

2. The demands upon a teaching force, by reason of the large schools, the widely different circumstances of the children, the many branches taught, and the better knowledge of many parents as to what constitutes good teaching, are much greater than in smaller places; while the difficulties in the way of securing a teaching force of adequate teaching power and reasonable social standing are also, unfortunately, greater.

3. The multiplication of numbers in the teaching force, and particularly the extent to which inexperienced and unprepared persons are received into it, and the practical impossibility of getting rid of inefficient teachers, make it necessary to impose severe limitations upon the freedom of the whole force in order to prevent the poorer ones from doing harm. This stifles individuality, which is the essence of good teaching.

4. The amount of money paid to support the schools of a great city sharpens the cupidity of the non-productive sponges and cormorants of society. There is greater opportunity and keener appetite for plunder. The spirit of misrule common in the municipal government in our large cities springs from social and political conditions. The people are a little more generous and alert about the management of the schools than about the business affairs of their city housekeeping, but the same general conditions affect the schools.

5. The plan of organization and the system of administration have become altogether inadequate for interests of so great magnitude. The business has outgrown the organization for managing it. In primitive times affairs may be managed without much regard to fundamental principles, because every one has knowledge of what is going on, and mistakes can be quickly seen and corrected; but it is not so in great enterprises. In our great city school systems there is little distinction between legislative and executive functions, no centralization of responsibility and accountability. Novices are toying with high powers of government and managing vast properties, before which the most experienced and conservative stand in awe. There is but little appreciation of the difficulties of developing a competent, right-spirited, self-respecting teaching force, and the temple is often profaned by money changers. The organization

is so constituted that it resists the contributing citizen looking for live teaching for his children, more than the poor unfortunate who is in quest of a place, or the politician who is looking for plunder.

Of course many of these troubles arise at once out of the money question. A given city may be expending millions of dollars each year upon its schools. The wise and safe expenditure of this money, so that it shall secure the ends which the people who give it have the right to demand, places a tremendous responsibility somewhere. The business operations incident thereto are involved and innumerable. Integrity, expertness, experience, and alertness are all imperative, or the money is filched, and the ends for which it was raised are defeated. The city owns millions upon millions of real estate devoted to school purposes. It is putting in millions more each year. It is difficult for some men to care for a small interest in real estate where their own self-interest is sufficient to make them attend to it. How infinitely more involved is the problem of maintaining in good physical and healthful condition hundreds of buildings subject to the hard usage which falls upon schoolhouses! Then, there is the matter of selecting new sites and erecting new buildings. The first calls for ripe judgment as to the probable directions of the city's growth; the last calls for alertness, disinterested public service, and personal sacrifice on the part of good men to prevent fraud and secure to the people what belongs to them. The whole business is encompassed by self-seekers.

If it is difficult to manage the business of the schools, it is infinitely more so to secure life-giving instruction. It is strange that we need to remind ourselves now and then that the end for which the schools exist is not to gratify contractors or provide places, but to supply instruction. If

anything has stood in the way of the fullest development of the schools, it has been apparent readiness to accept everything that passed under the name of instruction; and the most gratifying sign in the educational heavens is the closer discrimination with which the people are beginning to look upon what is done in the schools. And when the people begin to determine the differing values of instruction they come to the great question of the organization and supervision of the teaching force.

There are more persons who want to teach school than there are schools to be taught. All the world sympathizes with the young people who are trying to be respectable and are looking for honorable employment. All the well-disposed will help such persons to places when they can, without much reference to adaptation to position. They think, and not strangely, that the other people must look out for that. This is markedly so if the young person is a woman.

One course or the other must be taken in regard to the teaching service of the public schools. Indifference on the part of the people will readily encourage church politicians, club politicians, school politicians, or politicians who are not described by a qualifying adjective, neighbors, friends, or relatives, to push people with no aptitude and little preparation into teachers' positions. Culture and social standing may be overlooked; intellectual nourishment and inspiration may not be afforded the teaching force; a life tenure may be promised to all who get in, regardless of qualification or spirit; and the teachers may be left without control to combine for selfish ends and defy the best sentiment of the people whose most precious interest they are ostensibly chosen to promote. The result of such a course is perfectly clear. With the passing years there will be no growth in scholarship, or general culture, or

force of character, or disciplinary power, or teaching ability. Without such growth there can be, of course, no public school progress. Iron-clad rules will be imposed to keep up a show of authority and prevent marked excesses, but the schools will have little vitality and less respect, the teaching will be perfunctory and artificial, and matters may be expected to grow worse and worse, with no hope of better conditions.

On the other hand, admission to the service may be guarded, the common thought may be directed and inspired, compensation may be determined upon expertness of service, and promotion upon the basis of merit, the inefficient and undeserving may be expelled, and the whole vast enterprise enveloped in a professional atmosphere, and energized with pedagogical life. Then rules may be relaxed and originality encouraged without danger. Then it may be expected that the spirit of the force will improve; that the teachers will stand higher in the sentiment of the city; that there will be kindness in the management and life in the instruction; that the children will be fascinated, and that their minds and souls will thrill with new life, which will be felt in the homes and give substantial and enduring support to the better life of the city.

There is no problem of larger proportions than that of supervising and leading a teaching force numbering thousands of persons. The object is not to secure some good teaching, for that could hardly be avoided. It is to prevent all bad teaching. This depends upon the individuality of each teacher and the harmony and enthusiasm of the whole body. The superintendent's office must know the qualities of every teacher in the system. High school diplomas, college diplomas, normal diplomas, give but inadequate assurance of good teaching. Adaptation is all-important; the spirit is vital. The superintendent's office must not

only inspect, it must lead. It must be considerate and sympathetic, helpful and inspiring. It must have authority and it must act justly. Appointments, and promotions, and dismissals must be made with a clear head, a kind heart, and a strong hand, without fear or favor, but with a determination to prevent all bad teaching and lift the whole force to the highest plane possible. It is truly surprising how the common sentiment of a teaching force fixes the status of each of its own members, and how surely that sentiment knows whether the acts of officials spring from merit or from influence. In one case the force will be without energy, self-confidence, steadiness, or public respect. In the other case it will be characterized by fraternal respect and mutual regard, and it will show power and versatility, which will uplift the life and shape the character of the city.

All this cannot be brought about in a day. It cannot be effected without a radical change in plan and organization. The whole plan must be rearranged so that the citizen who finds a child in an unwholesome school-room, or under a clumsy or dyspeptic teacher, can go down town and find the man who is responsible for it, and who can cure the trouble in a day. It must be so readjusted that officials shall be required to do things which they may be supposed to be capable of doing, and kept from meddling with matters about which they know little and cannot learn much for years. The system must be so organized that officials of whom great things are expected will have opportunity and encouragement to do good work, and will be able to see the results of capable and conscientious work and get some substantial reward therefor in the esteem of the people about them.

There is no good reason why our large cities should not save money in school expenses and at the same time see

the physical condition of their property improve, the financial statement look healthier, and the teaching advance in quality and tone, if they make a school organization in accord with the principles which the world's experiences have shown to be imperative to the conduct of all good enterprises and then enforce the rights of the people who are interested in those enterprises.

To realize such a result in any large city very specific steps should be taken. First, the school board should be a legislative body only and have no executive functions. It should not be so large in numbers as to become a public debating school. It should be representative of the whole city, and by no committee assignments or other official action should members become interested in, or representative of, one section more than another. It should legislate upon the policy and general development of the school system, and it should control, in a general way, the expenditures, so far as to make provision for the buildings and their care, and for a needed number of teachers and their suitable compensation. All of its acts should be expressed by resolutions in its published records. But it should have nothing to do with letting contracts or making appointments, at least beyond seeing that expenditures are within appropriations, and beyond naming its own clerk and the best available men for heads of the two great executive departments in which all details of administration should be separated; one to manage the business affairs and the other the instruction. The terms of the heads of these departments should be long and perhaps indefinite, and their powers should be wholly independent and fully prescribed by statute.

The business department should have charge of all the property interests of the system. It should make the contracts and see to their execution, appoint janitors

and remove them, and be held responsible for the condition of the property. The head of this department should be a business man of good experience and well-known independence and probity, who is strongly sympathetic with the noble ends for which the public schools stand.

The department of instruction should be headed by a superintendent who is an expert in pedagogical science and in administration. He should have absolute power of appointment, assignment to position and removal of teachers, and sufficient assistance to have full and constant knowledge of what is being done in every school-room in the city. Whether the law provides for it or not, the superintendent and his assistants are likely to act as a board. This board will not be a body dangerous to the liberties of a free people. There will not be one chance of their doing injustice to a teacher, to a hundred chances that they will leave undone disagreeable things which should be done in the interests of better teaching. The superintendent and his advisers should be placed in dignified positions. They should be men and women with a teacher's kindly nature and spirit, who are capable of upholding the dignity of their profession, and they should be as secure in their positions as are the members of the supreme court of the state.

The affairs of the school should be wholly separated from municipal business, and the school organization should have no connection whatever with municipal politics. There is no ground for any connection between the two. The public school system rests upon the taxing power of the state, and that is wholly within the control of the law-making power. The school system is a state system administered in the American fashion through representatives chosen by the people in their local assemblages, or in any other way the state may direct. But these officers do not

cease to be representatives of a state system, as was pointed out in the discussion of the legal basis of the schools, and there is every reason why their tenure and their powers should be wholly independent of municipal boards and officers.

How the school board shall be chosen is a vital question in education. If such a plan of organization as has been outlined is adopted, the question loses some of its significance, however. Troubles in school administration seldom come from the presence of vicious characters on school boards; they arise from a confusion of powers and prerogatives, and from a disposition which men seem to have, to direct matters the most about which they know the least. When powers are based upon principles, the troubles will largely disappear. Nevertheless, according to the Greek maxim, "No law is a good law unless it has good executors." It is for the people of each community to ask the legislature to open the way which promises to result in the selection of citizens as members of the board of education who are representative of the thrift and energy, the best thought and the higher life of the city.

In a word, any city is to take the general course which experience leads all intelligent people to take concerning the administration of great enterprises, in order to justify the theories upon which they are acting, and make sure of the ends for which they are striving. All business must be done upon a business basis. The administrative organization of the city school system must be built on bed-rock principles; needed authority must be conferred upon school officials by law; they must be given positions of character and dignity and security, and they must be removed if they do not meet all their obligations. There are men and women who will not scramble for these positions, but who would fill them capably and conscientiously; and they

can be found. It is for the substantial sentiment of the city to tear down social, religious, political, and all other kinds of fences, bring contributing citizens together, lay aside everything but the common good, make plans which are scientific, and find representatives to carry them out.

The one great aim of the public school system, as it is well to recall, is to hold us together, to secure the safety of a wide-open suffrage, and to assure the progress of the whole population. Child study, entrance requirements, and all the other things which are discussed often in educational conventions are only incidental. The law-making power is to enable the people to educate themselves. The public school system is our protection. In the light of the world's experience our experiment in government is a vast undertaking. History does not record a similar experiment which has been permanently successful. The public school system is the one institution which is more completely representative of the American plan, spirit, and purpose than any other. It can continue to be the instrument of our security and the star of our hope only so long as it holds the interest and confidence of all the people by assuring the rights of every one to the best teaching, and by moving the mass to higher intellectual and moral planes.

VII

UNSETTLED QUESTIONS

THE purpose and organization of the American school system has been pointed out; its relation to the state and its legal status have been indicated; and some general problems have been discussed. There are certain fundamentals which it may well be said are settled by common thinking and by universal acceptance. It is inevitable, however, that there will at all times be problems confronting the American school system. The purpose is here to disclose the reality of some of them without sustaining with arguments one view or the other.

It is an open question how much initiative and control shall be exerted by the state and how much shall be left to the locality, concerning the schools. Of course, since the public school system has come to be supported by taxation and the power of taxation cannot be exercised except by the sovereign authority of a state, there is no question about the state having ample power to do what it will about the schools. But there is very serious question about the measure of direction which the state ought to impose. People learn to do by doing. An officer bearing the appointment and exercising the authority of the state may know more about educational organization and administration than a local school meeting or local official may be expected to know, or, knowing, may be able to do. He may do things better than will be done without him. Yet, if he initiates and supervises everything, the people will come to depend upon him, and will invariably look to the state to do what would broaden and strengthen them,

if they would do for themselves. On the other hand, people need educational advice from the outside. It often happens that a community thinks that it has the very best schools, when it has almost the worst. The difficulty is that it cannot see, and of course it cannot do. How are state control and local self-initiative and administration to be balanced with the best results?

Very akin to this question is another, as to the measure of money which the state should provide for the support of the schools, and the amount which should be left to each city, town, or district to supply. In many states the support of the schools is left altogether to the locality. In others a very considerable sum is distributed annually on some basis which requires the stronger sections to aid in some measure the weaker ones, and so to equalize educational advantages over the state. The city of New York, for example, pays annually about a million and a half of dollars to aid other sections of the state which are financially weaker. Of the legal competency of the legislature to exact this there can be no question. Of the substantial aid to the rural districts of the state there is no doubt. But people are never satisfied with the amount of money which they get for nothing. The more they get the more they demand, the more they come to depend upon it, and the less they will be willing to raise for themselves. It is clear that in education the stronger and wealthier sections of a state ought to help the weaker and poorer ones. But, in justice to themselves, the weaker ones should not be allowed to take all they would. How are the state and the local support to be adjusted so as to assure the best schools in every section and promote the highest interests of an entire commonwealth?

Again, if the state is to raise and distribute funds for the support of local schools, how is the distribution to be

adjusted as between the primary, secondary, and higher schools? There are some precious souls who, if they are in favor of anything educationally, think they are for the "three R's" exclusively, or, at most, are for anything beyond the "three R's" only when the need of their being for it has wholly passed away. Yet a mere ability to read and write and cipher does not now sustain intellectual life and democratic institutions anywhere in this country; and, moreover, the excellence of the primary schools is dependent upon the prevalence and efficiency of the secondary schools. But the secondary schools are more costly than the elementary schools, and the higher are more expensive than the secondary. How is the state to use its power so as to balance the school system, assure an equitable distribution to the different grades, and so secure the best results which wisdom can devise?

Yet again, how is the teaching force to be made the best possible? There are more who want to teach than there are places. The pay is not large, but the work allows considerable leisure and satisfies pride. The unprepared ones are to be shut out. But who are prepared and who are unprepared? Some who know less of what is found in books than others are better teachers than the others. Surely, some who are not very successful in passing examinations are acceptable teachers. Some definite scholastic attainments are necessary, according to grade. Some general culture is imperative, regardless of grade. Some professional training in educational theory and in teaching methods is requisite. Then there is the matter of spirit, and finally of adaptability. But this refers to the individual teacher. How is the morale of the whole force to be uplifted? It cannot be done through indifference and inattention. It will not move forward of its own motion. It cannot be done through political officers who

know less themselves than they are bound to exact of the teachers. It cannot be done through examinations alone, and it cannot be done without examinations. It cannot be done with a rush, and it cannot be done through harshness to worthy and deserving teachers. It is a matter of sound plan, steadily followed for a long time. How is the plan to be determined upon, and by what method is it to be carried to a meritorious conclusion?

Then there is always the unsettled question of competent supervision. The office of school superintendent is an American creation. In other constitutional countries the schools do not attempt as much as ours do; the teachers are men with life tenure who follow the instructions of the government minister of education in all things; the work is routine; the habit of attendance by young children in primary schools is universal; there is no mixing of classes and no articulation of schools, and the results, as has been observed, place the percentage of illiteracy lower than in this country. With us the curriculum is long and diversified; all classes of children are instructed in the same schools; our teaching force is changeable, not so professional in character and often overtaxed. In a measure difficulties have been overcome by general supervision. But the really professional superintendent is largely without legal authority, and the political superintendent, who often survives in the rural districts, is frequently without professional efficiency. Generally speaking, wherever there is a professional superintendent he is subject to an unprofessional board which is not without self-confidence in all that concerns the schools. In a word, we have to contend with the disadvantages of democratic government, and that fact sometimes obscures the other fact, particularly to teachers, that there are more advantages than disadvantages in government by the people.

The legal and authoritative prerogatives of school superintendents, both in city and country, are unsettled matters in American education. Under the prevailing conditions, and conditions which are inherent and not quickly to be changed, supervision is highly important. It is not too much to say that the value of the instruction is very dependent upon its professional qualities and thoroughness. Aptness in supervisory leadership is not wholly dependent upon the same qualities which make for effectiveness in teaching. Then how are we to get adequate training and experience in a sufficient number of men and women to supply the needs? And how are we to treat superintendents, concerning functions, responsibilities, and compensation, so as to secure and retain, in supervisory positions, true manliness and real womanliness, enriched by the qualities which vitalize professional leadership, and without mere pretense and form?

To be a little more specific, what are to be the standard attainments of superintendents? How much are they to have to do with appointing or removing teachers, with framing courses of instruction, with adopting textbooks, with determining disputes, with regulating the progress of pupils, and with developing the morale, and spirit, and power of the schools? How are they to be saved from humiliation by directors and trustees who have legal prerogatives but no knowledge of the delicate and perplexing matters involved in the administration upon modern lines of mixed and ambitious schools? How is there to be any supervision worthy of the name in the country districts? With the new means of transportation and communication, is it not pretty nearly time to eliminate the "rural school problem" altogether, to take a more advanced position concerning the professional standing of the rural superintendent or commissioner, and to make

supervisory districts in the farming sections of a size which will permit real superintendence and enable all the teachers to come in once a month and sit around a table for discussion and for instruction? Surely, these are unsettled questions which will have to be worked out slowly in the further evolution of our public school system.

The size of the school district in the farming regions has been much in discussion for several years. From the settlement of the country, the school district outside of the towns has been small enough to place a schoolhouse within walking distance of every home. To be sure, the walk has often been a long one, but the whole world is relative, and it has not seemed so long to those who had to make it as to the less hardy people in the cities. As fast as the country was settled, or the distance became impracticable by reason of new homes, another district was created and a new schoolhouse built. Now there is something of a movement to make larger districts by consolidating districts, carrying the children to and from school when necessary, in order to have larger schools, more elaborate buildings, and graded courses of instruction. This movement has not, by any means, gone so far as to become a policy. Many arguments have been adduced in its favor. The ones opposed have not been much presented. They cannot be fully brought forward here. But such questions as the following are surely not impertinent in this connection:—

Are we altogether certain that a large school is better than a small one, or a graded than an ungraded one? Is not the essential difference in the teaching and in the supervision, and may not efficient instruction be assured in the small country district by a course less open to objection?

Is it, considering the exigencies of carriage and of

weather, well to require young children to go farther from home than is imperative?

Is it better to centralize and complicate administrative machinery, with the necessary delegation of the authority for maintaining the schools from the people in primary assemblages to their representatives and officials, or to keep control as close to the people as possible and in the simplest forms compatible with efficiency? May not the district school be expected to meet the circumstances and the elementary needs of its immediate constituency very well indeed, and is not the matter of maintaining the school-house and of providing for the modest expenses of the schools likely to keep the people more interested in the schools than they will naturally be if the school is more remote and the measure of their control is lessened? Can not any real difficulty be met by continuing elementary schools as heretofore, and by supplementing them by central high schools? Is it not better to continue the unit of district school administration as it prevails over large areas of the country, as far at least as local control over the location and the character of the building and provision for expenses are concerned, and by making a different unit for supervisory purposes which may be large enough to get a strong superintendent and yet not so large in miles as to make real supervision impracticable? Is not the real difficulty in the country, politics and the size of the supervisory district and lack of professional control over the teacher and the teaching, rather than the size of the school district? Is the location of an elementary school within the smallest practicable distance from every home, and the possession of a popular meeting place by the smallest hamlets and the crossroads, to be surrendered without the most imperative necessity, or until it is clearly proved that the change of plan does not

involve greater difficulties than any which are now encountered?

There is at all times a sufficient supply of unsettled questions concerning the development of a uniformly efficient teaching service, both in city and country. It must be said that teaching does not attract the larger number of forceful characters. The compensation is insufficient and the opportunities for distinction are held to be lacking. Men have very generally ceased to prepare themselves for teaching, and the same is largely true of the more ambitious women. No one can question that the best interests of the teaching service claim as much of the masculine as of the feminine mind, beyond the primary schools at least. No one can doubt the need of the most aspiring women in the schools. Any great work among large numbers of both sexes requires the coöperative help of both men and women and of the strongest and most ambitious men and women in the world. The ordinary conditions of the teaching service do not make for this. And there has been in recent years a remarkable educational development which, indirectly but strongly, opposes it. That is the expansion of the colleges and universities so as to prepare for all of the professions, and the multiplying of vocations for educated and aggressive men and women. Moreover, the colleges, perhaps unintentionally, prepare for every other vocation better than for teaching, and their indirect influence is against teaching. University teachers are not very familiar with modern work in the lower schools, and the interests of their own special branches displace any serious concern for a unified organization or an all around service in the schools below. They are not only more interested in the pupils who are going to college than in those who are not, but also more in the pupils who are headed for their departments than in those who are

likely to elect other branches for future study. All this is turning nearly all the men and many of the best women, who in other times would have looked to teaching as a vocation, to other work, and it is lessening the independence and effectiveness of the teaching force to a degree which is hardly compensated for by the larger knowledge of educational principles and the improved methods of the modern agencies for training teachers. The live question is, how are we to assure a teaching force which shall be free from specially defective factors and generally as capable and spirited and aggressive as that which manages the other great, though less important, intellectual activities of the nation? Always a pressing question, the growing importance and the growing difficulties of the subject make it more weighty now than at any previous time.

However important the form of the legal school organization, and however imperative the character of the men and women who teach the schools, there is nothing about the schools so vital and, it may also be said, so difficult, as a sound determination of what work the schools shall do.

The minister of education in other countries does not have a very hard time deciding what the primary schools shall do and how it shall be done. He does it alone. He follows either the law or long and almost fixed usage. The teachers are men, and the tenure of position is for life. Every teacher obeys the minister's directions without question. He has to provide a simple curriculum for children of the peasant class who expect to live exactly as their fathers have lived. The work is not to inspire children to do their best and rise to high places among their fellows; it is not to fit them for the work of advanced schools; it is to drill them simply to read and write and work, without much thought of intellectual development. It satisfies

the demands of the rather slow-going and monotonous life of the people whom these foreign schools serve.

It is wholly different in America. Our schools are not shaped and managed by a minister, a cabinet, or a monarch, but by the people. The common thought and general usage have settled the outlines of the system. Each community fills in the details and carries them as far as it will. Everybody has a proprietary interest in the schools. The administration is through popular elections, and changes in administration are frequent. Changes in the teaching force are frequent, also. There is not much resistive power. Every one with a project thinks the schools ought to carry it out. It is not so hard for one with a scheme to load it upon the schools as it is for an administrative officer or a teacher to keep it out. People who mean well, but who are without any grasp of the general problem, often turn the course of the schools aside from its ordinary and natural channel.

From the standpoint of school administration, every American child is bred in the purple. He is to have everything that the richest child in the world can have in the way of instruction if he will take it, and all of the fixed influences, direct and indirect, censure him if he neglects to take it. Every boy must infer from all he hears that he will be discredited unless he follows an exclusively intellectual pursuit, and every girl must believe that her happiness depends upon her becoming literary and knowing about art and the opera, and wearing silks and directing servants, — when the silks are often elusive and always illusory and the servants are more elusive and illusory still.

The American school system is pretty well articulated from the kindergarten to the university. Teachers and children are continually enjoined to be thinking of the next school above. A teacher whose pupils do not *pass*

is discredited. A child who does not *pass* is in peril of being eternally lost. This may not be really so dreadful to the individual teacher and the individual child, though each thinks it is. It may be as well to have some pressure as to have everything fall down and everybody become lackadaisical for the want of attention. But does it not inevitably attach more significance to the upper than to the middle schools? Does it not assume that the road to college and the road to glory are the same?

And are they? No thinking man can doubt the self-satisfaction and enlarged intellectual enjoyment which commonly result from college training. No one will be disposed to deny the advantage which the liberally educated and disciplined mind has in severe mental work and particularly in intellectual combat. No one can fail to see how the higher institutions break out new roads and lead the thinking of the world to higher planes. And surely no schoolman can ignore the fact that the vitalizing, the energizing, and the steadying of the lower schools must necessarily come from the higher schools. But there are those who will deny that it is desirable that all children shall go to college. There are enough who do not think that it is better to have a college degree and admission to a profession, with little adaptation to it and little to do after it, than it is to master a manual vocation and have plenty to do. There are people in the world who dare to suspect that many a one becomes really unbalanced and pretty nearly useless through college teaching and college study, when he might have been happy and useful if conditions and normal inclinations had been regarded, and if he had found himself in a work where he could have had the reward and the joy which come from accomplishing things. There are those who even venture to suspect that men and women with work which they love, and the steadiness and

balance and respect which they gain by doing it, are safer citizens and more attractive characters than men and women who have been through the schools without being able to put their training to the doing of things which are of moment to the world.

It is not a matter of the value of the higher learning to the world at large; it is a matter of the power and purpose of each individual to make it of most use to himself. The unambitious or the incapable rich, who are not in danger of doing much anyway, may very well go to college, if they can be kept from ruining the colleges while there. The rich who have work and sand in them will ordinarily seize upon college training while they enlarge the substance and illustrate the point and power of it. The poor must balance values. They will coolly calculate the worth of it to any plans which they may have, or they will leave it to chance and take whatever the consequences may be. If there is something like a definite purpose in mind, if the college training is put to real use, the consequence will be a finished and resourceful character, and the harder the work and the more the sacrifices, the stronger and the more dependable the character will be. If, however, there is no serious plan or purpose about it, no power to appreciate and adapt the college training and discipline, the result is likely to be a failure.

The percentage of men who have reached the highest positions of leadership and influence without the training of the most advanced schools, as compared with those who have had that advantage, is surprisingly large. It is because they have had the stuff in them, and it has been developed and seasoned in life. They have not depended upon books, or been largely controlled by theories; they have squared their lives with the actualities of living; they have been both patient and aggressive; they have found the

way to accomplish something worth while. It was something not set forth in books. But this has been suggestive to the college; and the courses of study, the characteristics of teachers, the methods of instruction, and the atmosphere of the places have been so radically modified in the interests of doing as against talking that, aside from the increased number of students who go to college, the advantages to the college man as against the other are very substantially enlarged. And, of course, with an independent, sane, and balanced character, having the elements of strength and success anyway, the advantages of a college training cannot be overestimated.

It is not true that good citizenship is gauged by the depth of culturing study or familiarity with philosophical theory. It rests upon the balanced sense which is the joint product of decent breeding, of familiarity with men and things, and of the labor which shows in things accomplished, either manual or intellectual, and in sweat upon the brow. The man who mends your shoes, or makes your clothes, is likely to average just as safe and potential a citizen as the one who tries to train your refractory stomach, the one who fills you up with economic theory, or the one who supplies theological deductions to your mystified soul. The one who produces physical results in life is certainly no less to be counted upon than the one who writes the more freely when he is not obliged to be troubled with any facts.

These considerations are at the bottom of the widespread criticism against our public educational system. Everybody worth considering knows that the mere ability to read and write is no adequate equipment for efficiency in our complex life, but everybody also knows that no system of training, no matter how elaborate, which leads inevitably to pursuits which are exclusively intellectual or only culturing, will sustain our complex civilization. It is right

here that the plan and scope of our western universities, very largely state universities, are pushing them strongly to the front rank in American higher education. The feeling is very common that there is no sufficient reason why the courses of study and the influences of the lower schools should lead decisively to those higher institutions which are only culturing or professional, or to those departments of universities which are essentially so. There is a strong and justifiable sentiment that the work of the elementary and secondary schools does not support the industrial as well as the classical or professional departments in the universities which have provided for all phases of human learning. There is a strong and sustained sentiment that the elementary schools ought to do more for the pupils who are not going to college, if the advantages of our popular system of education are to be equal for all. And there is a decided and a justifiable belief that the elementary schools, taken as a whole, train for versatility more than for exactness, and that, either because of this, or because they have been loaded with too much, or both, they do not turn out pupils who can do any definite thing very satisfactorily when they must go to work.

The common sentiment of the country fully sympathizes with the old line literary colleges. It feels that there is a place for them, and wishes them well. It has abundantly demonstrated its decisive support of university training in aid of the industries. But it demands that the elementary training shall lead more decisively to the industries and to business, whether pupils are going to the advanced schools or are going to work; and that the work of the lower schools shall be sufficiently concentrated and made sufficiently exact to support the expectation that pupils shall be able to read intelligently, write legibly, perform mathematical processes readily and correctly,

and entertain serious notions of real work when they leave the schools. The objection is not that the schools do other things, but that they do not do these things before other things, and that the result amounts to a discrimination against the industrial masses, the very ones who stand most in need of free education.

Then the whole question as to what the schools shall do is an open one. Apparently, they must have less, rather than more, to do. If not, then a large part of the children must have less. It would seem that there will have to be more differentiation of courses, with reference to future living. There will have to be more drill and more firmness of treatment in the purely elementary work, at least. The work will have to be adapted to years so that whenever a child leaves school he may be able to do very well what the world may justly expect of one of his age. There will have to be more exact attention to present actualities than to remote possibilities. It would not be strange if the lower schools were yet required to give every child not only the means of informing himself and of expressing himself, but also a definite trade or vocation through which he may earn a living. This would be doing less for the children who will never go to college than most of the larger towns are already doing for those who go to the high school, or than most of the states are already doing for the thousands who go to the state universities.

Here is the great, overwhelming, and difficult question in American education. It is to be settled out of the abundant experience, the democratic purpose, and the natural and logical unfolding of the free life of the nation.

There is still another matter pertinent to this subject. There is a frequently expressed disposition to hold the schools responsible for about everything that goes wrong in the country. If there is an epidemic of crime, or an out-

break of objectionable business methods, or any other distinct evidence of widespread moral turpitude, or if all boys and girls are not more completely ready for a swifter and more complex life than was ever expected in all history before, the schools are taken to task for it.

Every step and every influence of the common schools make for character. It is true that religious instruction is not very common, — not as common as it used to be, — but it is also true that it is as common as denominational opposition will permit. There is nothing done that does not contribute to cleanness and decency in living, to exactness and correctness in thinking, and to refinement and trueness in feeling. Everything is done in these directions up to the very limits of opportunity.

It is a fundamental policy of this country that political officers shall not meddle with denominational instruction, and that ecclesiastical officers shall not bend the policies of the state to denominational ends. It is not because of any indifference to religion, but because of the necessities of the case in a cosmopolitan population of freemen, and in a state which is opposed to all favoritism and stands for equal and exact justice for all. This policy leaves religious teaching to the family and to the church, unless the universal consent invites the common schools to give it. Between the schools, and the churches with their auxiliary agencies, and the family life the children are being trained in free religion and sound morals about as well as can be expected, and quite as well as in any days of yore. Indeed, our democratic life and our free and rational teaching are developing a people with more of the elements of unde-filed religion and with less of the factors which have burdened true religion than has been common in other lands and in other days. And in this the common schools are doing all that the sound moral purpose of the country will

sustain, and all that the settled political theory of the country will permit.

But there is a difficulty, extended and discouraging, outside of the schools. It operates in spite of the schools. It grows out of the American disposition to place freedom above security, to protect liberty at all hazards, and take the chances of license and its consequences.

Many of the common usages and some of the most conspicuous object lessons in the country make for dishonesty rather than integrity. An infinite number of people have become what once would have been thought exceedingly rich. When one becomes halfway rich he becomes money mad and resorts to methods for overreaching all the rest. There is lack of law and lack of prosecutors to stop him, and his success in gaining money by immoral methods and in keeping out of jail — through the help of astute lawyers and abhorrent forces — predisposes too many others to copy his example. Some phase of this thing is everywhere in the land, and it corrupts the life, particularly the young life, of the country. Are the schools responsible for that?

Again, the railroads are great educators. They educate us in much that is good, and also in much that is bad. They train us in promptness — and in evasiveness. The laws concerning them are not yet very well settled. They observe no moral restraints not fixed by law, and they are past masters in the art of changing and evading the laws which they dislike. Men who are all that can be desired in their individual characters are often all that is undesirable in corporation service. But this is not all, and perhaps it is not the worst. They assume that every one else will violate or evade the law if he dare. For example, they assume that everybody will steal from them, and, with something of a fellow feeling for those who do, the matter is soon dropped when they find it out. They closely inspect

and often offend honest people who board their trains. When they find one on their trains wrongfully, they put him off, and that is the end of it. The decent folk resent the discourteous treatment and are predisposed to retaliate, and the indecent folk who violate laws are so seldom punished that they are predisposed to try it again. Upon an European railroad every one is treated with politeness. It is assumed that one who boards a train has the right. If one is found on board without a ticket or money he is carried to the next station and put in jail. The road and the public prosecutors make punishment sure and severe. The honest people get decent treatment, and the dishonest ones get the punishment they deserve. It educates in integrity more than we are accustomed to think. It is particularly impressive upon the ignorant and upon the young. If, then, native honesty, or at least, correct living, is more common among the masses of an European than of an American city, are the American schools responsible for that?

Yet again, nothing is a legal crime until a statute makes it so. Criminal procedure rests upon legislative acts and not upon the common law. The regulation and punishment of crime is far from settled. It has not kept pace with the progress of the country. It is so dilatory and uncertain as to shame us. Money can defer punishment indefinitely except in the most flagrant and noted cases, — and often, indeed, in those. Public officers charged with prosecutions are sometimes found dividing the plunder with thieves in consideration of immunity from punishment. The thing pervades our affairs broadly and makes a vicious impress upon many lives.

If business greed and cunning employ chemistry to cheapen food stuffs, and even medicines, by eighty or ninety per cent without lowering the cost to the buyer;

if directors enrich themselves at the expense of their trusts by having secret wheels within wheels; if there is no longer a standard of value for materials sold or service rendered except what "the traffic will bear" or what can be collected; and if the young or the inexperienced are misled or deceived by the everyday schemes of the prosperous or the rich which are violative of law or against good conscience and fair dealing, are the schools to be taxed with it all?

Here is a great matter outside of the schools which is unsettled and which will have to be settled. It is wholly unfair to charge any lack of moral character or of common honesty which may be discerned in the country to the plan and scope of the educational system. When the law is perfected and is observed, when all may know that it will be speedy and sure and equal in its application to all, the matter of correct living and of moral character in this country seems likely to rest upon as sure a foundation as in any other country. The difficulty in this behalf seems to lie in the rapid growth in population, in the overwhelming changes in manner of life, and in the backwardness of legal and administrative systems, rather than in fundamental political principles or in the plan and scheme of the schools.

The men and women of the schools are so accustomed to settle things that they are rather predisposed to shoulder all the burdens that are put upon them and determine all the hard problems that come up. The unsettled questions that are legitimately and necessarily upon the officers and teachers of the schools are many enough and heavy enough. If they throw back upon the country the hard nuts which are not theirs at all, if they resent the constant attempt to use the schools for special ends, if they confine them to what they must do to vindicate our political and educational theories and justify the money they cost, they will

have quite enough to do. As some matters that are outside of the schools approach solution, the unsettled questions that are necessarily inside of the schools will settle more easily.

The nation is just beginning to realize that the fundamental political principle which holds all men and women equal before the law, with the now well-developed national policy which provides free instruction to the very limits of human knowledge to all who will come and take it, involves an expense of unexpected magnitude, and presents questions of grave difficulty in school organization and administration. But there will be no turning back. More cheerfully than the people meet any other tax, more cheerfully than any other people ever met any tax not vital to the national defense and the saving of life, the American people supply and will supply the funds for universal and liberal education. The difficulties will not be met in a year; they will never be settled in a corner. They will be solved by the rational projection of the political theories which are the inspiration and the guide of the nation's life. They will be met with courage and confidence, even with wit and enthusiasm. They will be settled through discussion, and yet more through experience. Not all that we plan will come to pass. The unexpected will often happen, and in time we are likely to see that the unexpected is better than the plan we made. The logically progressive purpose of our millions of freemen, the gradually unfolding scheme of our nation's mission in the world, advancing in accord with a plan that is more than human, will overcome difficulties and break out the roads for a sane and balanced system of education, which will give most to the nation through the opportunity it will hold out and the encouragement it will give to every one.

VIII

THE NEED OF A FEDERAL PLAN

THERE is very little adaptation of instruments or of administrative methods to ends, very little that is expressive of professional experience and opinion, and practically nothing in the way of logical scheme, or comprehensive plan, or progressive outlook, about the educational arrangements of the federal government. Congressional legislation has ordinarily resulted from isolated and political initiative, and executive officers have resorted to expedients, both good and bad, to meet passing exigencies. It has never before been understood that the general government had large or continuing educational responsibilities, and now, when it is clear enough that it has, the plans for meeting them are illogical and inadequate.

There is excuse for the situation, but none for not mending it. The federal Constitution contains no mention of schools. Aside from a brief and barren suggestion of a national university, there was, so far as we know, no discussion of education in the Constitutional Convention. It was not an ignorant or obtuse convention. Twenty-nine of the fifty-five members were college bred, and of the twenty-six who were not, Washington and Franklin were two. Six members of the convention were clergymen. The convention clearly assumed that, so far as education was a function of government, it was a function of the states. There were less than a dozen primitive colleges in the country which had been chartered by the king, but in each case it had been done at the instance of one of the colonies, and the resulting college had become the college

of the colony and then of the state. Several of the state constitutions had already provided for colleges. State-supported systems of elementary schools had not yet been provided by law or established in fact, but things were beginning to move rather strongly, for in the next half dozen years definite and decisive beginnings in that direction were made. Wherever there *was* a state, the state had done and expected to do it all. Where there was no state, Congress felt responsibility and acted freely. Even before the Constitutional Convention the Continental Congress had, in 1785, reserved the lot No. 16, and one third of all gold, silver, lead, and copper mines, for the maintenance of schools in each township which should be laid out in the Northwest Territory. And all are familiar with the provision in the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of that territory, that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." So it is evident that the very definite and common understanding at the time of making the "more perfect union" must have been that the federal government had distinct responsibility about schools and morals in federal territory beyond the limits of organized states, but that this function was reserved to the states wherever there were or whenever there should be organized states.

The practice has squared with this understanding. Congress has often legislated upon, and federal executive officers have never hesitated to act upon, school matters in the territories; never in the states. The United States government has several times made gifts to education in the states, and has sometimes made these conditional upon certain acts by the states, but it has never invaded the principle that wherever there is a state the educational system

is a state system, over which the state government holds the exclusive and sovereign authority.

The United States government in 1867 created a federal bureau of education, which gathers and distributes educational information from and to all parts of the world, and has become a sort of clearing house for information concerning the schools for all the states of the Union; but it has never been invested with the slightest *authority* over any matter within the limit of a state. The present object, however, is not to emphasize that fact so much as to point out that this organized and quite natural instrumentality of federal educational administration has never been utilized to meet the national responsibility for schools, recently much enlarged, or to propagate educational activities outside of the schools in federal territory and to inquire why.

The situation has grown up gradually. In the territories of Arizona, Hawaii, and New Mexico there are superintendents of public instruction, appointed by the territorial governors. The superintendents report to the governors, who are appointed by the President, and the governors make occasional references to education in their reports to the secretary of the interior. There is no professional and no located responsibility. The bureau of education has nothing whatever to do with the matter.

In the District of Columbia the management of the schools is intrusted to a board of education appointed by the judges of the supreme court of the district. This board appoints a superintendent of schools. The schools are supported one half by the district and one half by the United States. The bureau of education has no relation to the subject. Once, at least, when the school system of the district got into a muddle, the United States commissioner of education was asked to intervene and

straighten things out, but that was only a temporary expedient in an emergency.

Congress formerly made appropriations for the schools of the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole nations in the Indian Territory, but since the territory has been included in the state of Oklahoma, the special governmental organization of the five tribes has been discontinued by the national government. Appropriations for the schools were continued until the state should develop adequate educational institutions. The number of rural schools in the Indian Territory district is being increased rapidly, so that practically all educational activities are now under the control of the state.

The other Indian schools are under a superintendent appointed by the President, who reports to the commissioner of Indian affairs and is under the direction of the commissioner of Indian affairs and the secretary of the interior. The United States commissioner of education is allowed no official word concerning them.

A dual administrative scheme for managing schools seems to be deemed necessary for Alaska. Schools for white children and civilized children of mixed blood are under the supervision of the governor, who is *ex officio* superintendent of public instruction, and Congress makes appropriations for schools for natives, which are subject to the secretary of the interior and are in some measure, at his pleasure, committed by him to the commissioner of education.

The military and naval academies are wholly subject to the secretaries of war and of the navy, and no distinct schoolman carries the light of his guild into the recesses of their affairs.

The educational activities of the department of agriculture have been much expanded and accelerated in re-

cent years. Through appropriations to the agricultural colleges and experiment stations the federal authority has already made rather long, but perhaps pardonable, inroads into old-time fundamental principles, but the federal bureau of education has no word about them.

Perhaps, above all, the war with Spain brought to the people, and particularly to the government, of the United States, for the first time, the difficult problems associated with the education of great numbers of unlettered people in somewhat densely settled territory under conditions wholly new to us.

As to Porto Rico, Congress provided that the President should appoint a commissioner of education who supervises public instruction and approves all disbursements on account thereof. The only function of the United States commissioner of education in this connection is that the law directs the Porto Rico commissioner to make such reports to Congress as the United States commissioner requires. The obfuscation assured by legally empowering an officer to define the reports which another officer with whom he has nothing else to do shall make to Congress, is a novelty in legislation.

The general direction of educational matters in the Philippine Islands is committed to the secretary of public instruction of the islands, who is a member of the Philippine Commission. The United States commissioner of education has not the slightest official relation to education in the Philippine Islands. All the functions exercised in the United States in that behalf are vested in the bureau of insular affairs of the war department.

The educational system of Cuba was reorganized in some measure during our military occupancy, but it was exclusively a military matter.

The reason for the lack of logical plan about all this has

already been suggested, but what is the reason why no one in position to accomplish things seems to have thought of the desirability of correlating the growing educational work of the government and giving it the advantage of guidance by the federal bureau of education?

It cannot be because the national bureau has been in inefficient hands. It has never been without a highly capable and efficient commissioner at its head. During all of the forty years of the existence of the bureau the commissioner has been a man of very high public standing, and nearly all of that time he has been one of the foremost educationists of the country. The staff of the bureau has always embraced many educational experts whose services have been widely recognized by the people who are best informed. The one thing needful to the bureau has been real school work to be done.

The government has not been studying the logic of the situation. It has permitted itself to be moved by inexperience, if not sordidness, and it has met exigency with makeshift. The fact that the makeshift was perhaps temporarily necessary ought not to be allowed to develop it into a permanent policy. It was all well enough that the American regular troops could temporarily provide teachers for the Philippines, and it was a distinct administrative accomplishment to secure a thousand teachers of pretty fair general average, and to transport them to and get them at work among such a far-away people, without incurring criticism of the details of the heavy task. But the atmosphere of the war department is not a permanent stimulant to constructive work in education.

It is important to education in all territory over which the flag of the Union floats that the principle shall be firmly established that the spirit of the common school system bars all partisanship from its administration, and also that

the proper organization and administration of the schools claim professional and expert service of a very distinct order. The educational system is not a thing upon which any party or class or sect can be allowed to uplift itself, and the administration of the system is not a thing to be held of minor importance and tossed about in divers departments which manage the conspicuous and imperative affairs of a great government. It is obviously as important that these principles shall be asserted in our territories and among our island peoples as in the already organized states. Indeed, it is much more important in remote federal territory than in our states, because in such territory there is not that public sentiment which quickens and guides and limits official action in educational administration as in the states, where American feeling prevails and institutions have taken form and the philosophy of our educational system is understood and accepted.

If we were to apply federal school policies to the state of New York, for instance, we would reduce the state education department to the function of getting information about schools when school officers are anxious to supply it, and to giving benevolent advice about schools when people will considerately come and listen. We would appoint superintendents of schools in our large cities through the mayors, and have them report to the legislature through the secretary of state, when they feel like it. We would annex the schools in the valley of the St. Lawrence to the agricultural department, and those in the southern tier of counties to the labor department. In all seriousness, we would have to go back in the history of the state for more than fifty years, when the secretary of state was superintendent of common schools, and all school management, both local and general, was practically at one with politics. And no matter how far we might go back, we

should find nothing to equal the inconsistency of having a completely organized, capable, and non-partisan instrumentality for school administration ready at hand and refusing to use it.

The influences which are at the top of an administrative organization inevitably bear upon appointments therein and in time affect the conduct and shape the character of all who are connected with it. It must be so as to federal schools. This is not blaming federal officers. They are entitled to commendation for very good administration under untoward and perverse circumstances. The desirability of popular control wherever there is the enlightenment which may safely exercise it, and of the association of laymen with pedagogues in the management of schools, is of course recognized. Even then it is necessary to observe the fundamental principles which underlie our educational policies, and to effect the kind of organization and move upon the lines which experience has shown to be essential to results in administration. The business side of federal or territorial schools may properly enough rest with business officials, but the professional side ought clearly to be in the charge of professional men and women. The government of the United States has not yet reached the correct lines of procedure in education. The reason is not far afield. It is found in politics and in officialism. Territorial governors, members of Congress, department officials, never wave aside any opportunity to make appointments, and when the occasion arises for the United States commissioner of education to contend with them about educational policies in the corridors and committee rooms of the national capitol, the commissioner cannot bring himself to do it, and he would seem weak indeed if he tried.

If the United States bureau is to be confined to statistics and information, it would seem better that it be not per-

mitted to be regarded as an administrative or propagating instrument of the federal government at all. In that case it might better be completely made up of statisticians and editors, and constituted a section in the census office. It would there have definite and undoubted authority to do something.

But that is not what is needed. With a comprehensive plan, and concentrated administration, and actual responsibilities, the federal education office would attain such significance that it could get the attention of Congress and the country. Again, the experience of the government in dealing with one class of schools would be quickly available in dealing with every other class. The government needs, for example, to make a serious and scientific study of the whole matter of adapting our philosophy and practice concerning common schools to irresponsible, dependent, non-Caucasian peoples, and can do it more completely and quickly through a unified organization in which all of the conditions and all of the experiences may be brought to bear upon one another. Yet, again, the very enlargement of the national bureau through bringing together the number of people who are now engaged at Washington in looking after federal schools, would bring together, in time, if not at once, a much stronger body of educational experts; and it would insure for each interest, in large measure, the combined judgment of all. All this would develop a new class of educational literature which would be of service to all the world. There is a distinct financial loss to the school work which the government is trying to do, through the lack of comprehensive plan; and there is a distinct moral loss to the nation, and to education the world over, because of the freakish and fragmentary methods which are being employed.

But perhaps a weightier consideration than any that has

yet been suggested remains to be mentioned. There are needed educational activities outside of the schools. Libraries, study clubs, home study, are within the functions of democratic government. It is hard to set things right after they have got started in the wrong way. The further they have gone in the wrong way the harder it is. The federal educational activities not only need to be related together so that they may support one another, and they not only need to be systematized and professionalized, but they need to be extended and sanely energized, made universal, and charged with responsibility for all manner of educational activities in all federal territory.

Why should our federal Union maintain at its capitol an educational office without using it? If it is to maintain such an office, why should it neglect and belittle it? Why should it make the pay of the commissioner so small and his functions so insignificant that any man fit to speak for the nation upon education must suffer humiliation before he is allowed to do it? Why not have a definite federal educational plan, which is above partisanship, and an educational organization worthy of such a nation? Why longer allow education to seem to come after everything else in the federal scheme, when the conditions are here which ought to put it to the fore? Why not recognize the principles which are fundamental, and the policies which are fruitful, and the concentration which will of itself effect large and lasting accomplishments in education? In a word, why does not some strong hand that is able to do things go about a reorganization at Washington which will enable the government to increase its educational efficiency, logically meet its responsibilities to its new subjects, and at the same time set a good example to all of the states and all of the world?

II

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

I

DEMANDS UPON THE SCHOOLS

THIS is a very free country. Above all the constitutional nations we have a maximum of freedom and a minimum of restraint. More restraint is likely to be needed in order to keep so much freedom. But the added restraint will never be made to run against harmless talk. It will be against acts rather than speech, against violence rather than foolishness, against dangers rather than demands. In other constitutional governments a subject may talk too freely about the monarch or censure cabinet officers at his peril, but it will never be so of an American citizen and any policy of his state. If Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson did not settle that question while they lived, their constancy and their courage contained the fertile germs which in this soil soon settled it for all time to come.

This privilege is not to be regarded lightly. It is a beneficent freedom. It makes the United States a very aggressive and a very progressive country. The common talk often starts without thought, but discussion produces thought. There is intellectual pleasure and quickening in it all. No one hesitates about proposing or demanding something because that something is new. Anticipation waits upon the surprising and progress gains ground through the unexpected. Out of it all we have become proverbially good-natured and considerate of one another. We do not take all propositions as seriously as our fathers did. If we get material advantage out of the propositions made and the things done which come to something, so we get our proverbial good-nature out of all the discussion and

out of the things done which come to grief; and that is national progress too. This is not saying that we take really important things less seriously than our fathers did. Upon the really serious concerns of individual and of social living, the popular thought is no less set and the common emotions no less true, than in the days of the men and women whose virtues we admire and whose history we inherit and extol. On the whole, things have gone very well. It would be weak to believe that on all points we are ahead of all other peoples, but we are likely to have enough points to the good to make us reasonably safe if any unregenerate should have the hardihood to draw any very exact international comparisons.

All this is abundantly illustrated by the propositions arising in the schools and the demands that are made upon them. The educational system is omnipresent, and it is largely owned and managed by the public. It is open to popular criticism and very subject to popular demands. Because its teaching force is so lacking in definite legal standing, and therefore also in permanency and professional independence, and because the trustees and directors set by the people to manage it are so frequently changed, and therefore so professionally inexperienced, the system is especially open to demands and particularly sensitive to criticism. And it must be said, also, that the people in the schools more than keep up with the people outside in advancing fertile and prolific propositions, and in trying experiments of their own. Too much resistance might be worse than too much responsiveness, but there are a great many people — in the schools and out — who would willingly dare the peril that would make them sure whether it is or not.

A great many different people come in quick succession to the desk of an officer charged with the responsibility of general administration in the schools.

Here is a matron who urges that domestic science, by which she means cooking, sewing, millinery, be taught.

Here is the commander of the Grand Army of the Republic to arrange for more work which will stir patriotism.

Here is a man who has learned how to modulate the voice and breathe properly, who wants to instruct all the teachers in his specialty.

Here is the superintendent of farmers' institutes who insists that all the schools should teach agriculture.

Here is a committee of a mothers' congress, which has been appointed to arrange for more motherly management of the teachers and *by* the committee.

Here is the agent who claims that the schools cannot afford and should not dare to go longer without the books of his house.

Here is a merchant who tells us that when boys get through school they are worthless in business, and that we are bound to make them good for something to tradesmen.

Here is one who wants more Latin, and next to him are two others who want more practical work and less Latin.

Here is one charged with the responsibility of getting a teacher appointed, who suggests that he represents some organization which he intimates should be placated.

Here is a man who wants military drill in the schools because he thinks it makes boys manly, and elbowing him is another who is opposed to it because, as he insists, it breeds the spirit of conquest.

Here is one who wants a dentist employed by the public to look after the children's teeth; and he has with him a friend who wants the schools to supply a training in Spanish so as to fit the youngsters to manage our new possessions.

Here is another who wants warm lunches and swimming pools in the schools, so that children may not be kept

from learning because of hunger, and so that they may learn the virtue of cleanliness.

Here is a mother who wants the principal of the high school disciplined because he insisted, when her son, a pupil, started a newspaper bearing the name of the school and purporting to represent it, that the boy and the paper should be amenable to the discipline of the school.

Here is one who with little disguise would have some schools better suited to the rich than to the poor, and others better adapted to the poor than to the rich; and here is another who would have the schools see to it that one boy is especially prepared for college and another especially trained to go to work.

Here, in quick succession, are several gentlemen who are warm about certain political, social, and scientific theories which they think are vital to the people and should be exploited in the schools.

Here is one who wants the schools to train professional or mechanical specialists to the end that when the pupils leave the schools they may be at once capable of earning a competency.

Here is a mild looking man who demands that the schools shall lose no time in aiding the faithful to reform the spelling, and he leaves no doubt of the fact that he would die for the cause.

Here is a physiological psychologist who pretty nearly desires to measure and weigh and count the eyebrows of all the children every day from their twelfth to their sixteenth year, in order to sustain psychological contentions concerning physiology which the professors of physiology deny.

Here is a newspaper demanding radical changes in the schools, not so much because the editor is overwhelmed by his personal responsibility as because, from his expert

newspaper instinct, he knows that everybody is interested in the schools.

Here is one who urges that what all the teachers need is professional training or wide reading in educational history and philosophy with plenty of methods of teaching, and here is another who insists with no less emphasis that before one can become much of a teacher he must not only read but masticate a good deal besides educational theory, and that methods do not count for much before teachers' minds are filled with material for ready use.

Here is one who declares that it is the business of the schools to make men of character rather than men of learning, that character is based upon religion, and that the schools are godless and not acceptable because the Bible is not read; and here is another who insists that the Bible shall not be read because the teacher does not understand it correctly, or will not read it according to the lights of a particular church.

Here is one who demands that all examinations as a basis of promotion be abolished, and another who begs that all flagellations, as the last resort in the interest of behavior, be likewise permanently stayed.

Here is one who wants to do something in the schools in order to prove that she is really of some use in the world, and claims any sort of new work which will attract attention provided she may do it, and here is another who would have schools which are maintained at common cost so poorly sustained as to help none but the very poor who can afford no better.

This enumeration might easily go much further, but the list is already longer than need be for the purpose of illustration. Who is to meet all of these demands?

There must be no mistaking the fact that the schools are the people's schools, and that their development must

be upon lines which decisive public sentiment lays down. We may well try to enlighten and influence public opinion, but whatever course it takes we need not fear it. Our free-flowing democratic opinions, resulting from our full discussions, assured in our constitutions, aided by the abundance of our legislation, and expressed in the frequent changes in our laws, have developed, and will continue to develop, institutions as positive, as substantial, and as beneficent as they are characteristic and unique. This it is that distinguishes our status from that of the constitutional governments of the Old World. They have had the chance to get as much out of parliamentary debates, and out of the English, French, Dutch, and German revolutions, as we have. But they have not had the intermixing and the continuous shaking-up that we have had; they have not had their blood warmed and their minds quickened by other factors of population as ours have been, and so they have not had the chance, or been able to make the most of a chance, as we have. To the free growth and the aggressive self-assertiveness of our public opinion we owe our marked characteristics and our distinguishing institutions. For this we may well be grateful. We need not be afraid of it. We may well bear our share in making it. But when we discern it, we shall do well if we fall in with it.

And this principle is to be observed negatively as well as positively. If we are to fall in with the things which popular sentiment demands, we are likewise bound to refrain from the things which popular sentiment will not support. We are not to take steps of questionable wisdom until directed by competent and responsible authority. Such authority is justified in resenting acts completed which it does not approve and has not been permitted to consider. And, moreover, we are not to mistake a swallow for a summer,

— we are not to take an assurance or a demand as a positive indication of public opinion.

It is not well to assume that the management of the people's schools by the people's boards is a vicious factor in the educational plan. It is true that it takes a man who becomes a member of a school board without any recent knowledge of accepted educational theory and practice, a good while to come into workable relations with the prevailing order of things, and it often happens that by the time he has come up to the maximum of his efficiency he has to make way for another, and that in consequence the board and the system are in a constant state of agitation and uncertainty. It is also true that forceful men who become members of school boards often go further than is well in disrupting situations rather than in mending them, and sometimes put personal marks upon school systems, which might much better have been omitted. It is even sometimes true, though happily not very often, that a vicious man gets into a school board and sells out a sacred trust for the grossest gain. These things must be counted among the disadvantages inseparably associated with self-government. Still, there are more advantages than disadvantages.

The vicious men in school boards are very few in number. They make a bad mess of it while they are there, and they deserve more drastic punishment than they get; but there are hardly enough of them to be in the reckoning. There are a good many ambitious men who come into school boards with thoughts of saying something and doing something. Betimes they say something or do something that ploughs into educational theory and practice or stirs up settled conditions. But that educational theory which cannot stand the rub ought to be stirred up, and there are a great many settled educational situations which need

abrasion by vigorous men. Ninety-five per cent of all members of school boards feel their responsibility, are proud to be associated with the schools, and anxious to do what they can for their betterment. Patrons should exchange views with them, without conceit and without obsequiousness, with knowledge of the fact that it is as important that the schools shall be impressed with the common thought and the popular feeling which these men must be assumed to represent, as that they shall aim to become the rigid and exact exponents of pedagogical theory in that far-away day when the men and women of the schools may unite upon a code of educational practice which is broad enough and seaworthy enough to invite the confidence of the world's people.

Much of the special strength and glory of our schools comes to them through that popular administration which is often so troublesome and obnoxious to the teachers. Because the schools cannot be subjected to any manner of exclusiveness — whether of government, of set or sect, of a system of philosophical thinking, or yet of fixed devices and methods of teaching — but are in the nature of things bound to be flexibly adaptable to the needs and reasonably expressive of the sense of a people, they are filled with that virile power which gives them conspicuous place in the educational work of the world. It is the gradual evolution of plans and policies through the association of popular administration with teaching experience and philosophical thinking that is giving us an educational system which is not being imposed upon the people but which is theirs, has been made by them, and is cherished by them, and which is binding a wonderfully dissimilar people into a homogeneous nation, and training that nation for a very great mission in the world.

There is a truly considerable and wholly respectable

number who object to the fundamental plan of the public schools on the radical ground that the work of the church and the work of the school should go together. It is a conviction with them, and the sincerity of it is not lacking. The common school system has grown out of the very genius of our plan of government, and is held by the overwhelming majority to be vital to the oneness and therefore to the life of the nation. Dissent from this long and widely accepted view may be regretted, but when the dissent is based upon religious grounds, the people who advance it must be respected. The fact of it is not sufficient to justify continuous ill will or rasping words over the matter. The objection runs against the plan and spirit of the public school system, rather than against those who are in charge of that system. If there is much desire in any quarter to have a fresh determination of the subject, that fact may be regretted in the interest of national comity and religious brotherhood, but the right to have it could hardly be denied. In that event it is a matter for the people to act upon through the ordinary channels of public opinion, through elections, through the representative assemblies, through the courts that determine the law, and the officers who execute it. It is not a matter of school administration. We have no discretion about the fundamentals of the school system. We are to observe them. Certainly we do not rest our interest in the schools wholly on the ground of employment. We believe in the plan and we breathe the spirit of the system, and it is our right to be entirely free in our belief and in our expression of it; but it is too much to assume that the responsibility for defending the ground-work of the public schools is upon us. If we make schools which meet the needs and assure the rights of all, we shall accomplish the task which is set for us. If the necessity arises, the mighty forces which are behind us may be

trusted to make satisfactory deliverances upon national educational theories and policies.

We are bound to abstain from all that may unnecessarily prevent, as much as we are bound to aid whatever will promote, coöperative efficiency among all the educational instrumentalities of the country. Whenever a private establishment claims to be a school, unless there are earmarks of deceit and fraud, it is entitled to fraternal regard and sympathy. It is not to be much meddled with by new laws or by public officers unless conditions make investigations necessary for the public protection. It seems bound to make known the facts concerning the attendance and the kind of instruction it is giving, because the withholding of such information can serve no good purpose if the institution is all right, and the having of it is needful to the making and the execution of the necessary plans of the state, as well as to the strengthening of the bonds which ought to exist between all beneficent undertakings. If it seeks recognition for its work in the plans of the state or asks any public commendation or certification of what it is doing, it is bound to submit to such inspection as must be the necessary basis of public action. While it cannot share in public support without being regulated by public law and reviewed by public management, the thought of our people and particularly the spirit of our work should save it from being annoyed by officials, and give it a natural right to participate in the common sympathy and encouragement of all who hold citizenship in the democracy of learning.

If it is well that the public and private schools shall stand in agreeable relations to one another, it has become educationally necessary that the upper, the middle, and the lower schools shall understand and sustain one another. Their work is interlacing. Many young people are going to col-

lege; still more want to go; and the more to go the better. The road must be an open, a continuous, and a smooth one. But it is not to be fenced so that none can turn aside from it. The work of the elementary schools is not to be shaped with special reference to preparing pupils for college, because more than ninety-five per cent of all the pupils of the elementary schools never go beyond them. What the American school system needs is to unload some of the specialties which the enthusiasts have induced the managers to take on, and then to follow a simple and balanced policy, with opportunities which best meet the needs of all and with special advantages to none. If a community is wealthy and strong, and willing to elaborate those opportunities, well and good; if a state will carry them to the very point of complete preparation for professional or industrial leadership, well and good, with added emphasis; but, regardless of this, an American state falls short of a high duty if it does not assure to every boy and girl within its borders that exact training in the rudiments which is the foundation of all the rest and the guaranty of opportunity in the world. To do this, while we encourage all who will go to the very heights of learning, the unity and solidarity of the educational system are vital.

The educational system is growing in unity. It is growing slowly, but perhaps as rapidly as conditions will permit. Any real progress must be made by the college and university people, and while they are generally willing they are usually weighted with a sort of refined clumsiness which is hindering. Many of them have never been in, and have not the spirit or the viewpoint of, the common schools, and their specialized work tends to carry them further from the common outlook; and when they do try to show the good will which they have, the result is often that of a watchmaker trying to train a farmer's boy in horsemanship.

There must be more resistive power in the school system; more discrimination in what the schools shall do. When a feature is in itself a good one, it is not very difficult for an enthusiast to get a school board or a legislature to add it to the course. Yet the assumption of it may be a positive public mistake. Many a thing is excellent when carried on by private enterprise or by organizations moved by benevolent impulses, but vicious when it enters into the policy of the state. There is a wide difference in the outcome between doing a thing voluntarily, and compelling all the people to do it, as we do when the schools take it up. It is not saying that the state is not to encourage all sound intellectual and moral activities, to say that it is bad to pursue a course which leads the people to depend upon the state when they ought to depend upon themselves; to count upon the money of the state when they ought to count upon money of their own. The schools are not asylums. Popular education is free and is not to smack of charity. If the conditions of life are specially hard in some places, they must be met by private or public charity. The schools are not organized for that, and ought not to be charged with it. The common schools cannot go much into the accomplishments. Interest in the good and the true and the beautiful is to be nourished through an artistic and a hygienic building, with attractive yards about it and masterpieces of art within it; by teachers who are models for youth, and by teaching which is exact, gentle, firm, and true. The place for experimentation is in the laboratories of the universities and not in the classrooms of the lower schools. And there are some things which may better be discussed among men, or among women, or in the medical colleges, or in the scientific associations, than in miscellaneous assemblies of teachers.

The work of the schools should lead toward doing things

as well as toward knowing things. But, unmistakably, there is a waste of time over novelties. We are discovering unknown faculties and remote possibilities, and we often urge a docile board to put in a novel course when well-known things or established plans need our attention completely. We cannot arrange the schools for every child or every faculty. We are to make the schools for all; we are to adjust the children to the schools; and we are to inspire them to help themselves.

It is difficult to withhold support from any proposition which may seem to add a feature to the public undertakings, when that feature is likely to gratify a factor of our population. It is more difficult still to oppose movements from within the schools when they are advanced with the most genuine and sincere purposes, even though they cannot be accepted upon any recognized theory of sound public policy or of true educational progress. Yet we may well believe that this must be done more decisively if the educational system is to have and to hold that measure of public confidence which is necessary to its best usefulness.

The common thought of this nation is that every state, in the exercise of the sovereign authority which it possesses over educational matters, is not only bound to assure to every child his opportunity, but also to see that he has it even though he be unfortunate in his parentage and in his circumstances. This assurance is to be made good through such aid or such directions to poor or dilatory communities as conditions may make necessary. This much being assured, all communities are empowered to go as far as their means and their spirit will suggest in elaborating the schools or multiplying the agencies of general culture. No valid objection can be made to public secondary schools wherever the proximity of population will support them, and accordingly in every considerable town the high school

is as much a part of the free school system as the elementary school. And it will be surprising if in time the older states do not follow the newer ones in providing college and university training without charge to such of their youth as are prepared for it and will come and take it. In the large cities, where it may easily be done, the work of the secondary schools has been, or will be, somewhat separated and distinguished with a view to better serving the different circumstances or intentions of students, and the states have, or will, set up industrial, scientific, and professional, as well as literary colleges, unless private endowments and long labor have already developed a sufficient number that are good enough and free enough to make such a course by the state unnecessary. This is not charity and is not looked upon as paternalistic or socialistic in this country. It accords with the spirit and is a part of the purpose of the nation. It is not saying that we are to shut out of the schools the progress and the information of our generation, when we say that there shall not be ignorance or confusion about the exact and exacting drudgery and methods which have been necessary to train self-conscious power into minds in all generations gone, and which will be necessary in all generations to come. The sense of the nation turns against the complexity of work in the lower schools which has come from the inborn American tendency to experiment and multiply, from the urgency of ambitious superintendents, from the desire to please some professional or industrial interest in the community, from the influence of some political theory, or from the insistence of teachers of special subjects in the schools above, until the aggregate has become more conducive to intellectual amusement than to mental discipline and the power of discriminating outlook.

If we would be more cautious about all this, more con-

servative about things which have not been proved, more decisive about withstanding demands which are not general ; or, better still, if we would go much further and simplify the programme of the schools by cutting out the things which may be easily learned in a quarter of the time later, if there is ever any occasion to learn them, or the things preparatory to the schools above which are so poorly done that they have to be thoroughly unlearned before a fair start can be made in the advanced schools, we might hope to bring the work of the schools within the possibilities of popular comprehension and sympathy, and thus to win enlarged public confidence and added freedom in administration, which would mean very much to the educational system and to the nation.

The school system needs freedom. The organizing and the teaching must be free or it will be futile. If it has to be done under influences which control without understanding it, or through agencies which would despoil it for purposes of their own, there is little hope of realizing any educational ideals. There is to be nothing in or about the schools which does not make for absolute freedom in shaping courses, in securing teachers of the highest and most uniform excellence, or in assuring to teachers their free opportunity to inspire, to train, and to uplift. But such freedom can only go with confidence. Wherever the school system lacks in symmetry and efficiency, and so in self-confidence and resistive power, it is peculiarly open to experiments which ought to be forbidden and to demands which should be resisted, but which it lacks both the sense to resent and the strength to resist. Wherever it has such sense and strength, frivolous experiments and partisan demands do not so much persist. So the school system is going from good to better, or from bad to worse.

It seems paradoxical to some to say that freedom is based

upon restraint. It is true of all freedom and as eminently true of educational freedom as of any other. The schools cannot be free in their making or in their teaching unless there is outside pressure, in the way of legal enactments and accepted understandings, which keep them hard at designated functions, and unless within them there are accepted standards and ends of teaching sufficiently defined and binding to assure the accomplishment of set and definite tasks. With the limits and requirements so defined, and with sufficient knowledge that they must be observed, there may be that liberty which is necessary to act upon one's own thought and experience and to follow one's own ways, which is so vital to real teaching.

We can listen to no demand which is not made in the interest of all. We can willingly permit no advantage to one as against another. It would be as well to acquiesce in the government of the schools by a sectarian denomination as by a political party. They are to be governed by teachers who are free and have experienced educational opinion, working in harmony and respect with laymen who stand for public sentiment and the common interests, and who serve no master save the great people whom they represent and the mighty democratic advance whose picket guard they are.

These are some of the principles which ought to move us in conceding or in resisting the innumerable demands upon the schools. Perhaps naturally enough, the troublesome things in administration, for the most part the unworthy rather than the legitimate demands upon the schools, have been presented. But the wrongs and the troubles pass away and are forgotten. Things which should not be do not last. Things accomplished make other steps in the golden stairway of opportunity and are the things which stay. They are the matters of real concern.

Let no demand that we help men and women be lightly taken. If one who knows the fields and woods moves us to have others know them better, let us say that he is right and try to have it so. If an old soldier of the Grand Army would have us do a little more to quicken the love for the flag so dear to him, let us try to do it. If one with an eye for the beautiful and a heart for the clean demands that a school building, in and out, be attractive and wholesome, free from filth and helpful to health and to better living, let us not be annoyed, but try to make it so. If youth cannot foresee and cannot ask for inspiration, let those who do see and understand give the word that may unlock the very depths. Even if the truth halts and conscience sleeps, let us recall that it is not strange, and offer the help that may meet their mute claims. If a mother has a feeling, which she shows but cannot name, that her daughter should be taught by one no less cultured and no less a gentlewoman than herself, let us not resent it, but do what may be done to have it so, and not only so for her, but for all. If a father fears that his son's time is being wasted by one in a teacher's place who cannot teach, and thinks it his business to know about it, let us be glad that there are such fathers, and remember that that is precisely what fathers are for. Let us look to see if his complaint is just, and if it is help him to his highest right on earth. If any unselfishly apprehend that the plans of the schools do not, in the largest measure, serve the purpose of the state, let us put our heads together to make them do it. But let us not make the mistake of thinking that these things may be done by adding courses or by multiplying devices. Before boys and girls give much support to the state, they will have to do a whole lot of business for themselves. It makes not so much difference what it is, if they have enthusiasm for it, if it is hard enough to make them tired, and if they

hold to it long enough to have the satisfaction and the growth which go with accomplishment. Insipidity is a worse fault than brusqueness in one who lays any claim to be a teacher. Confidence and steadiness and considerateness are essential. The idea should never gain ground that the schools are to give clothing and lunches to pupils in order to help them. The only way they can ever accomplish anything is by knowing things on their own account and doing things for themselves. The word "charity" should never be set above the door. "Opportunity" should be written over the portals. As we consolidate the educational system, we gain added triumphs for popular education. The support of all the schools should be brought to the support of each, so that every one may have the utmost. After the elementary schools, the greater number will leave when they must. Whenever they go they should have the utmost that can be given them up to that time. And, at whatever time they go, they should carry with them not only the rudiments of learning, which will help them to do almost everything in this country, but also the elementary factors of true and ambitious living.

II

SCIENCE IN THE ELEMENTARY GRADES

WHAT is science? Some of the old writers called it "God's sight," and the characterization was not at all inappropriate. Science is the truth of the Almighty overcoming obstacles, working its way out through difficulties, and marching on to its final triumph. Science and nature and Deity are very nearly the same. They are in full and harmonious accord. They constitute a power which is everywhere present and always active. No matter about any peculiarities of their personal beliefs, no matter in what kind of a church they worship, all men realize the existence of such a Power in the world and know that it is everywhere present in the universe and that it is always active. They know that it controls both mind and matter; that flowers bloom, that electric current flows, that minds unfold, and that planets revolve and keep to their courses under its laws.

Frequently man is unable to understand its processes. Names are cumbersome. The language of science is discouraging. But learning and research are continually helping him. Much has been revealed to this generation which has been withheld from all that have gone before it. One difficulty after another is removed, one achievement after another is accomplished, mysteries are explained, remote facts come into relationship, the harmonies of the universe are established, and man stands in the presence of the mighty Power that is behind it all.

That is sometimes called science which is not science. In reaching from the known into the unknown there is

danger of letting go of the known and falling into the unfathomable unknown. There is intellectual dissipation for some people in contentions which no one can establish and no one can overturn. True science holds on to what is known and keeps in touch with what is material. It is intensely practical. Its mission is not to involve in mystery, but to clear up the sight and unlock the truth.

Man has learned to know how vital it is to his happiness and usefulness that he keep in accord with the Power that rules the universe, and that he act in harmony with scientific knowledge. He has experimented enough to see how dangerous it is to attempt to cross the boundaries which nature sets against human action. He is surely experienced enough to understand both the fascination of scientific study and the vital relation of its results to the uplifting of the human race. Human laws, which merely regulate the social organization, must necessarily differ according to the circumstances and experiences of nations and change with their changing conditions, but the laws of nature are universal and unchangeable. The human life which measurably expands to its possibilities must read the book of nature and act upon its precepts. The life which does this is enriched and gains capacity for enjoyment.

If this knowledge is of consequence to the individual, so it is to the school. If it has lifted up the individual, so it has the school. If it has brought a new light into the life of the individual, so it has into the life of the school. If it is a stairway to the high ends of human existence, it is, of course, a vital element in the curriculum of the schools.

Science is evolving a scientific house for the use of the schools. Art and science are both revealing things that our fathers never thought of. The one is showing how cultivated taste and skill can make a building which will

please the eye and train the æsthetic taste, for the same money that was expended upon the unsightly structure of the last generation, and experience has shown that even the sense of the child is strong enough to respect and care for it if it is pleasing to the eye and is worthy of being cared for. Art has shown that no school authority can afford to ignore its entreaties. But science is more imperious. By consequences and results it has shown that no school authority dare disregard its injunctions, for its mission is to conserve the health of the pupils and promote the effectiveness of the school.

Science concerns itself with the character of the ground upon which the building is to stand and the conditions with which it is to be surrounded. It locates the building with reference to the points of the compass and the advantages of sunlight. It discriminates in material; it puts the basement floor above the water line; it regulates the height of stairs; it asks for sheltering porches and demands that outer doors shall swing outward. Above all, it looks to the size, and shape, and temperature, and ventilation, and lighting of rooms. It says that the good health of each child requires at least fifteen square feet of floor space and two hundred cubic feet of air space; that fresh air, direct from the outside, is even more important than warm air, and that every child must have at least thirty cubic feet of it per minute, if re-breathing the same air and the consequent likelihood of disease are to be avoided. Science prescribes the methods for getting warm and fresh air into the room and for taking dead air and foul gases out of the room, and provides the instruments for determining the extent to which it is accomplished. Science looks to the tinting of the walls and takes light from the ceiling or the left side for the purpose of protecting the eyesight of pupils. Thus sanitation,

hygiene, and also seats, blackboards, and innumerable other matters receive scientific attention; these serve to indicate the extent to which knowledge is evolving a healthful and pleasurable school-room. Of course, the perfect building has not yet come, and the schools have many old buildings on their hands which they have inherited, and some people are slow to see the value of scientific knowledge, but when the new schoolhouse is compared with the old one, and when it is realized that no intelligent parent will longer be indifferent, and no intelligent official dare be indifferent to these things, it is apparent with what rapid strides the light and truth have been advancing.

If science has been potent in the improvement of the schoolhouse, so it has surely been in the preparation of the teacher. Fifty years is a brief period in the history of education, but the last fifty years constitute a period which will be memorable, for that period has witnessed the rapid and mature development of the science of teaching, and that development has worked a complete revolution in the conduct of the schools. Our fathers were accustomed to think that any one who knew a thing could teach it. They were far from the truth. Investigation and experience have shown the truth to be that the bare possession of knowledge is but one element in the equipment of a teacher. He must know human nature; he must understand the particular mind to be taught and be able to come into harmonious relations with it; he must engage its attention, arouse its enthusiasm, and make it not only receptive of but eager for knowledge, before it can gain knowledge which will give it strength. A mere imitator cannot do this; much less can one who knows nothing of scientific processes and is not even an imitator. Pestalozzi declared that "education is the generation of power." The elements of power must exist for the generation of power. The

teacher must understand principles and be able to employ the best methods at the right time and in the right way, with a trained and discriminating judgment. The span of the memory, the influence of the imagination, the force of reason, all of the processes of the child-mind, the trend of the feelings, the strength of the attachments, all the natural likes and dislikes of children, have been studied with scientific care in order to know how to make the work of the schools most prolific of good.

Of course, this thing may be overdone. There is great possibility of error. Facts may be apparent rather than real. Deductions may be lame. Logic may be spread out until it is thin. There is a rich field for ridicule. That has been the common lot of science in all lands and all ages. Still science is conquering the world. The truth keeps working its way out and marching on. It is doing so with majestic step in this case. The scientific study of the child and the scientific training of the teacher have already revolutionized the work of the schools to such an extent that a plain statement of what the new schools are doing is regarded by the last generation with disbelief or incredulity, and a plain statement of what the old schools did is felt by the new generation to be false or unfairly exaggerated.

As the physicians of the past generations gave physics and emetics, and put on leeches and let blood indiscriminately, often breaking down the constitutions they were employed to build up, so the teachers of past generations fumed, and scolded, and strutted, and thrashed, and thus humiliated the characters they were employed to uplift. Occasionally there was a physician and occasionally there was a teacher with a clearer vision than the rest; occasionally there was a patient with a constitution which was bound to outwit the doctor, and occasionally there was a

character bound to outlive the absurd discipline of the school.

That discipline was almost uniformly harsh. The government was not one of reason, but of force. The teacher, if a woman, was employed in the summer time to teach the girls because she was related to the trustee, or to his cousins, or his aunts; and, if a man, was employed to teach the boys in the winter because he had superior strength, agility, and courage. The threatening talk and the menacing conduct of the teacher stirred all the risibilities and combativeness of human nature. The teacher was thought great by the people if he could conquer the school after stirring its passions. A substantial ferule was always in sight. Frequently a rawhide whip was kept in the room. Many teachers carried a rattan in the hand continually. Flagellations were of everyday occurrence. Frequently they were cruel in the extreme. Struggles and blows and outcries which no intelligent parent of our day would permit his child to witness, and from which he would himself turn or stop by force, were very ordinary. The ingenuity of the teacher was taxed to find methods and instruments of punishment. Children were made to hold weights at arm's length, to "sit on nothing" with the back against the wall, or to do anything which would be excruciating, humiliating, and degrading. If they flinched they were whipped for it. To make the thing especially obnoxious boys were sometimes sent out to get whips with which to be whipped; and sometimes boys who were not involved in trouble were sent for whips with which to whip their brothers or associates. Fear of punishment was always present.

Of course, children had spirit then as now, and that spirit resented and organized to resist this stupid brutality. Teachers were frequently unable to keep order. Serious struggles between the pupils and the teacher were

common. Mr. George H. Martin, who would certainly make no unguarded statement, says in his history of the school system of Massachusetts that during one winter fifty years ago more than three hundred schools were broken up in that state by the insubordination of pupils. The common proceeding was to put the teacher out of the schoolhouse. The old pedagogue who has survived is inclined to boast of the fact that he stayed in the schoolhouse at all; it is the tallest feather in his cap.

At home the child was asked not what he did in school during the day, but whether he was whipped. This, with "chores" morning and afternoon, with the dearth of games and of books, and with brimstone theology in allopathic doses nights and Sundays and between times, made an environment which was not well calculated to ennoble the nature of the child, as it certainly was not likely to promote cheerfulness in his meditations. If substantial character afterward developed, as it very frequently did, the fact was due to other circumstances and considerations which have very largely ceased to exist. If strong manhood followed it was not because of this harsh and senseless disciplinary treatment, but in spite of it.

Fortunately it has all passed away, for scientific study of the secret springs of human motives and actions showed, and experience proved, that such a plan of management rested upon a basis which was wholly fallacious, that the more force there was the more there would have to be, that it degraded the teacher, that it set up a standard of excellence in the minds of the people which was utterly false, and was a bar to the fruitfulness and effectiveness of the teacher's work. It brutalized the school and absorbed the productive energies of the instructor. It put the child out of teachable relations with the teacher, and scientific thought would not have it so. It was against nature, it was

opposed to the truth; and nature and truth will have their way. And they have been having their way, for in the person of a teacher more intelligent and better prepared they have appealed to the reason, the affections, the ambitions, the honor; they have made study both objective and attractive; they have given the opening mind the pleasure of learning things and accomplishing things; they have helped and inspired and trusted, until they have brought pupils into relations which make teaching practicable and into an atmosphere where teaching must be a thing of energy and power.

The present age is both a material and scientific one. It is unlike any which has preceded it. It did not come by conquest. It broke upon us as quietly as the dawn of a summer morning. It has witnessed a new love for Nature and an added interest in her wonderful secrets and processes. It is an age of searching inquiry and close discussion. The false and the sham will be revealed; that which cannot stand discussion will go to the wall; the truth will work its way out. It is not only an age of demolition, but one of accomplishment. It is an age of material development, for it is an age of constructive genius. It is an age of intellectual energy, for it is an age of disciplined thought. It is essentially an age of scientific knowledge and scientific power.

Science is the interpretation of nature. But nature is manifest in the butterfly, the squirrel, and the robin, as well as in the mammoths of the deep or the mastodons of the ancients; it is in the opening blade and the blooming flower as well as in the burning mountain and the blinding storm; it is in the rocks and shells as well as in the invisible current which drives the machinery of our factories or that other invisible force which propels the machinery of our lives. There is science for the child as well as science for

the savant. The activity of the child and the wisdom of the scholar each have their uses in unfolding the secrets of science.

There is joy and fascination in nature, for the nature that is about us is in harmony with the nature that is within us.

There's a blush on the fruit and a smile on the flower
And a laugh on the brook as it runs to the sea.

There is moral power in science. Who can see a dozen magnetized needles, floating on corks in a basin of water, repel one another, and range themselves at equal distances apart, and remain in exact equilibrium so long as the similar poles are all pointing up or down and then see the disturbance and the clashing which ensue when one of them is reversed, without thinking of what is behind all this? Who can see the earth turn under the swinging pendulum without knowing that this did not come by accident or chance, and without revering the Power which controls this motion and holds the spheres upon their courses?

There is intellectual awakening in the study of science. No one can engage in it without acquiring the habit of inquiry and investigation; no one can be under its spell without thought which is original; and these are the principal instrumentalities of the new education.

Scientific investigation, above almost any other work that can be taken up in the school-room, is promotive of cordial relations between teacher and pupil. They work together for a common end, and that end is the truth. They are in harmony with a common object, and therefore in harmony with each other. The tension is removed, the problem of management is reduced in its proportions if not entirely eliminated, and teachable relations are established between teacher and child, and

enthusiasm carries them on. Then it is evident how much more may be accomplished when instructor and pupil help each other, than when indifference prevails, or when they wear each others' lives with bitterness, or mechanically observe only the requirements of an armed truce.

Then the study of the simpler sciences, experimentally and in the methods of the laboratory, is both practicable and essential at an early age, and will promote the work of the schools both directly and by reflex and stimulating influence on the school organization, on the betterment of the building, on the growth of the teacher, on the temperament of the pupils, and on all the lines of work in which the schools engage.

Five hundred thousand teachers instruct eighteen millions of children in the public schools of the United States. There are many more thousands in the schools of the other constitutional governments of the world. The elementary free school is indeed becoming universal and the teaching fraternity world-wide. No army in the world holds greater power in its hand. Upon no other does so much depend. If this great fraternity will think upon the movements of the past centuries toward a higher life; if it will keep in sympathy with nature; if it will seek a clearer understanding of the leadings of the overruling power in the world; if it will have a larger interest in scientific study; then, it will have a deeper reverence for scientific truth; it will realize the assurance of Coleridge that "as we strive to ascend we will ascend in the striving"; it will see an unwonted meaning in the words of a greater than Coleridge, who said, "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free"; and it will have added power because it will have added joy in the schools.

III

THE RISE OF HIGH SCHOOLS

THERE have been three fairly well-defined steps in the making of American secondary schools. First, there was the Latin grammar school of the colonies. Second, came the academy which prevailed and flourished from the Revolutionary War till past the middle of the nineteenth century. And third, there is the public high school which has come into its estate in the last half century.

The colonial grammar school took its name and its character from the early cathedral grammar schools and the monasteries. There were not many of them, and they were for the greater part both local and temporary. They were in almost every instance fitting schools for the colleges. They did not scatter their affections. Each one was the instrument and feeder of a particular college. They prepared pupils for the college entrance examinations, but they had to go far to supplement the meagre instruction received in the home schools, or perhaps oftener in the homes where there were no schools at all. Of course they observed and inculcated the religious beliefs of the colleges which they supported.

The character of the New England grammar schools in the middle of the seventeenth century will be seen from the statement that "when scholars had so profited at the grammar schools that they could read any classical author into English and readily make and speak true Latin, and write it in verse as well as in prose, and perfectly decline the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongues, they were judged capable of admission in Harvard College."

At Princeton, a century later, it was announced that "candidates must be capable of composing grammatical Latin, translating Virgil, Cicero's orations, and the four evangelists in Greek, and must understand the principal rules of vulgar arithmetic," and this controlled the work of such fitting schools as there were at that time in the middle colonies.

These schools are commonly called "free schools," but they were not wholly free. They claimed tuition fees, depended upon generous gifts which they often secured, and looked to permanent endowments which some of them realized. Often gifts of lands or some special revenues were made by the town. Certainly they were not public in the sense that they were supported by uniform taxation. The term "free school" seems to have been used to designate schools not restricted to a particular class of pupils.

New England led in the formation of these early classical schools because New England was *New* England. Institutions in New England naturally enough copied institutional life in Old England. The English peasantry had no schools. The English nobility and aristocracy maintained colleges and fitting schools of their own. The grammar schools, like the colleges of which they were really a part, came from the higher classes and were necessarily exclusive. There was a fine aristocracy, indeed a gifted and, speaking relatively, a learned aristocracy in New England, and naturally enough it followed the ways of the mother country. Often it improved upon those ways. The growing spirit of democracy made this particularly true in education.

The Dutch were the first to set up the really free elementary school in America. They brought more democracy with them than the Puritans did. The Pilgrims had more of it, man for man, than either; but there were not enough of them to bring a very great quantity or propagate it very

rapidly. Before the English overthrew the Dutch there were many elementary schools in New Netherland. There were only one or two grammar or classical schools. After the English triumphed all of the Dutch schools disappeared. Education was a bone of contention. The English had no disposition to encourage elementary schools for Dutchmen. It seemed perilous to them. In the more than a century from the English invasion to the Revolution there were two, and only two, schools established by the Dutch with the English official approval. Both were grammar schools. The English crown could tolerate Dutch classical schools rather than Dutch elementary schools. That much seemed reasonably safe when the teachers had to be approved by English bishops. One of these schools was as transitory as classical; the other was splendidly persistent, for it merged into Columbia University.

There is nothing more interesting in our history, or in any history, than the relation of the democratic to the educational advance. The growth of sentiment and feeling which forced the Revolution was quickly reflected in innovations upon the character of the schools. The Colonial grammar schools were pushed down into territory unoccupied by the exclusive institutions of such aristocracy as there was. They were the instruments of a distinct copartnership between church and state. They were commoner and stronger where that copartnership was the widest and the most exact. They were few and weak where that relation was non-existent or ineffective. But of course until real democracy began to assert itself there were no schools save the exclusive ones provided by the crown and the church. With the approach of the Revolution and resulting from the same causes, new social, ecclesiastical, and political conditions produced a new order of schools. The tendency toward the independence of governmental

and ecclesiastical affairs was developing, and the close relation between church and state which so long obtained in the Puritan theocracy was weakening. The effect upon the schools was twofold, — to make the lower grades of schools the instruments of the democratic advance, and to stimulate private and denominational effort in the interest of the old order. The results were the common elementary school, developed more slowly than we are accustomed to think, and also a new institution of much higher grade under private and denominational control, with more exact legal and corporate organization and powers, and not entirely without state largess. The grammar schools did not wholly disappear, but they rapidly decreased in numbers; and such as lived contracted their curriculums, and shed their denominational bent. A very few, notably the Boston Latin School, have been adopted by the public, and have come down to the present day, retaining a distinct classical curriculum. Wherever this has occurred it has been in close association with other secondary schools with wider courses and freer electives.

Even before the Revolution an academy appeared here and there; but it needed independence to settle matters. And independence did settle matters. It is too often forgotten that there were two English parties on the other side in the American Revolution. The Puritan party was not a democratic institution, but it was being trained to more liberal and independent thinking, and was coming to see the need or at least the inevitable advance of democratic institutions. The English in America who had not yet become full-fledged Americans were Puritans. They had no deep affection for the Cavaliers or the Royal Cabal at London, and their political and religious faith and their pioneer life made them the best fighters the world ever saw. Real separation made complete independents and

pretty fair democrats of them all. They were a little slow and needed time, but time made them about the best Americans in the lot. They joined the issue and got up splendid little scrimmages at Lexington and Concord. They did some awful fighting at Bunker Hill, but lost the hill. They were not without humor, grim as it was, when they told the British commander they would like to sell him some more hills at the same cost. But the military power of the Cavalier political cabal, for the time being in the control of the English government, was outwitted on Long Island and pretty largely absorbed at Saratoga. It is interesting to hear Sir George Trevelyan, a good enough English authority, in the best and most judicial history of the Revolutionary struggle which has been written, tell us that we were then fighting the English government in order to keep and enlarge English liberty. Whether or not it would have otherwise been lost, as a matter of fact we did keep it and enlarge it. Under rather bad treatment after the war, which we all regret now, the Royalists either came to be Americans, or went back to England, or over to Canada, and left a pure democracy to begin to break out new roads and go ahead as fast as it would.

The elimination of the influence of English politics from the affairs of government in America, the removal of the oversight of the English Church over religious affairs in this country, and particularly the distinct enunciation of the entire separation of church and state in the scheme of government which rose above the fires of the Revolution, gave decisive impulse to new educational ideas and distinct form and energy to a new manner of school.

The American academy was not a democratic institution, but it was more democratic than the colleges and Latin schools which antedated it. It was as democratic as the hold-over influences or the uncertain political theories of

the time would permit it to be. It had an independent legal organization with an independent though perhaps a slender endowment and a self-perpetuating control. If it aimed to prepare pupils for college it undertook even more to prepare pupils for life when they were not going to college. Often its work was wider than that of the college itself. It laid new stress on the study of English, including its grammar, rhetoric, and the art of public speaking. It went more broadly into mathematics, including surveying and navigation, and it made important beginnings in the natural sciences. Chemistry and physics were favorite subjects. History was universally taught. Even architecture and stenography got a start. French was very common, and German appeared occasionally. Latin and Greek continued to be upheld, but they were paralleled by innumerable courses which were clearly enough of democratic origin and destined to change the outlook of communities and propagate the democratic principle in affairs. It was attached to the fortunes of no party in politics, and, although it was devoutly religious in spirit, it of necessity came to serve a constituency which was much broader than the membership of any single church. It exacted fees, but commonly far below the measure of its necessities, and its democratic tendencies¹ disposed it to help all whom it could. It surely needed the aid which the state was disposed to give, and as the state was a democratic one the fact stimulated the democracy of the academy itself.

• The academies were the outcome of the best thinking of almost a century of American progress. They were the embodiment of as fine heroisms as ever found expression in any educational institution, and there have been no finer in the world. They were as democratic as the most aggressive democratic spirit of their day could make them. They did a work entitling them to enduring gratitude because

of wide and permanent value. Then as a prevailing class they were forced aside by a new class of institutions which sprang out of fresh and advancing thought, were more democratic, met a wholesome and imperative demand for a wider range of work, had a much wider and more potential influence, and gained new and very different ends.

The academy was an incorporated and endowed institution, though commonly so slenderly endowed as to be transitory. The public high school is supported by taxation, managed by public officers, and more independent and permanent. The high school is free; the academy was as free as it could be, but it lived largely upon fees. The difference appeared in the pupils, in the instruction, in the outlook, and in the measure of stability. The interest of the mass is the best endowment an institution can have. It is even more steadfast than statutes. The taxing power is not so spasmodic as beneficence.

The work of the academy connected with the colleges and had no organic connections below; that of the high school connects with the public elementary schools below and forces the colleges after long centuries of opposing theories to establish relations with the upper end of the high school courses or waive the hope of preëminence.

The academy was pushed down into unoccupied territory from above; the high school was pushed up into the same field from below. The business of one was to serve the interests that were above but not quite altogether heavenly; that of the other is to help on the broader and more worldly concerns that are below. In time it transpired that with all this in the same territory there was now and then some abrasion.

The function of the academy was to prepare for college and incidentally for life; that of the high school is to pre-

pare for life and incidentally for college. The one was classical with some practicalities; the other is severely practical, and generally in the best sense, with some classical appurtenances. The academy was essentially an advanced school for boys; the high school is as essentially coeducational.

The courses of the high schools have widened out and gone into about everything that can aid one to earn a living. There is mental discipline in study that informs the mind and applies to life.

It is interesting to study the first decisive manifestations of this high school movement. They came in the West — in what was then the West — where there was nothing in the way, where democracy was freer than in thoroughly settled social conditions, and where the masses were doing things on their own account. The movement advanced on lines of least resistance, but when forced it accepted the gauge of battle, and when it did that it won, or drove a mutually advantageous compromise.

The movement from the beginning and always has been strong in the West, — in whatever came to be the West. A western village is ashamed to be without a high school. The building is the finest and the most conspicuous in the settlement. It is so in all of the north central, the mountain, and the Pacific states. Of course it results in many struggling high schools, but in many more which are as fine as any in the land. And moreover they will abundantly take care of a splendid future.

The figures concerning the high school movement are as interesting as any figures are likely to be. At the turning point of the last century there were but eleven high schools with progressive courses continuing from two to four years and covering advanced studies in foreign languages, mathematics, literature, natural science, and history. In 1860

there were 44 of these schools; in 1870, 160; in 1880, 800; in 1890, 2526; in 1900, 6005. This remarkable growth has been decisive in every section of the country, the South by no means excepted, but it has at all times been specially noteworthy in the Mississippi Valley states.

The unprecedented growth of our secondary schools has created a demand for teachers of advanced work which it has been difficult to meet. The graduations from college are more than ever before, but high schools want a large proportion of men teachers, and the number of thoroughly prepared men who want to teach is small. Boys who have been taught by women all through the elementary grades should at least hear a masculine voice and get things from a man's point of view when they get into the high school.

But the difficulty is rather deeper than that not many men incline to teaching. The work of the colleges does not so dispose them. Other callings seem more inviting and the colleges do but little by way of corrective. The colleges do not take much stock in educational theory about the professional training of teachers. College managements are more worldly wise than they used to be. So they nod to this theory in a polite way rather than lose any practical advantage by absolutely ignoring it. But such interest as most of them take in it comes from prudence rather than conviction. And it must be admitted that when a university does establish a separate department upon the theory that education is a science and teaching a profession, unless it makes a separate school with considerable autonomy of its own, it finds difficulty in securing professors who can justify the theory and stir the efforts of ambitious men students. Yet it is commonly accepted that one can hardly hope to become a successful teacher without deep study of educational history, theory, and practice.

But if one cannot teach without knowing how to teach,

he surely cannot teach without knowing the subject he is to teach.

There is no doubt about the need of college-bred men and women, with a good proportion of men, who have been prepared to teach, for the work of the secondary schools. The supply is not sufficient. There is a hiatus in the educational system. The academies have rather the better of this because of their independent self-control, because of their somewhat greater exclusiveness, and because of their closer college connections. The high schools are suffering. It is time to do something decisive for the teaching profession. It is an absurdity to protect the other professions and neglect the most important teaching positions.

The educational system must balance. The work in the upper schools is the hope of all the schools below them. There must be universal recognition of the worth of scholarship, — not merely of its form or its pretensions, but of its juices and its flavor, and of its power to apply itself to the real concerns of life.

This is not a general imputation against the teachers of our middle schools. They have met the demands of their day. They have carried the schools over a transition period in the evolution of a great system. No criticism upon them and nothing but compliment for them is intended. They brought all that they could get into their work, and it was much. They have supplemented it with experience and study. Nothing more could be asked of them. But new conditions and a new outlook must provide for an opening era.

IV

TEACHING IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS

THE excellence of any state system of education must depend very largely upon the excellence of its academic schools.

If they were to be taken by themselves alone, the academic schools would not be as important as the elementary schools. Of one hundred pupils in the elementary schools about six go to the high schools and one of the six goes to college. But the academic schools are not to be separated from the rest of the school system. They supply by far the greater part of the teachers to, and exert a decisive influence upon the instruction in, the elementary schools. They are the goal of any intellectual ambition which germinates among the children of the elementary schools. Every system of schools needs a system above it to lift it up. Happily, the secondary schools have come not only to supplement the primary schools, but to be an integral part of the common school system. There need be no hesitation in saying that the main reliance of the elementary schools for excellence and progress must be upon them.

But apart from the elementary school system, they are giving a reasonably liberal education, a training in both efficiency and culture, to a steadily increasing number of young men and women who do not go to college. They are enlarging the opportunity of the masses and increasing the power of the thousands. Without any reference to their work in preparing students for college, they are quickening the energy and adding to the culture of our social, industrial, commercial, professional, and civic life.

If the elementary schools are dependent upon them, the colleges and universities most certainly are. Unless the colleges articulate with the high schools their work is weakened. Students who go to college with inadequate or irregular preparation must have unusual intellectual resources, or their hopes will be dashed to the ground and their intellectual lives wrecked. Schools which accept the responsibility of preparing for college are morally bound to do it completely.

It may well be doubted whether even teachers realize how thoroughly our secondary schools are the expression of our free and forceful democracy in education. They are our best assurance of real opportunity to the masses. All of the leading nations of the world have systems of elementary schools, and some of them attend to vital things in elementary education more completely and uniformly than we do. All of them have colleges and universities and technical and professional schools. But none of them has a universal system of schools connecting the elementary schools with the colleges, for none of them tries to make it easy for any child of the masses to go to college if he, or particularly if *she*, will. The American high school is distinctly an American creation. It did not grow out of the needs of the colleges; it came from below, not above; it is not the product of any exclusiveness. It is the logical outgrowth of our intellectual progress; it is the pet instrument of the masses; it is the most common and universal and, next to the free state university, the noblest expression that we have of our fundamental political gospel that all men are created with equality of natural rights.

A recent study of high school conditions in the state of New York has developed several rather important surprises. The greatest of these is that, judged by results, and by the only test we have, — a test which is equally just to all, —

the high schools which show the best results are not in the cities, but in the larger villages, and that the high schools in the smaller villages — often under the same roof as the elementary schools — average as much good work in proportion to students as those in the cities.

All of the answer papers received by the education department in the academic examinations during a given school year were separated into three classes: (1) Those coming from the cities, (2) those coming from villages of 5000 or more inhabitants, (3) those from the smaller villages. The following table shows in each of these classes, (a) the whole number of answer papers written, (b) the number given the passing mark entitling them to acceptance by the department, (c) the percentage of papers accepted, and (d) the percentage of honor papers, papers rated at 90 or above, to accepted papers:—

	In cities	In villages of 5000 or more	In smaller villages
Answer papers written	84,772	23,751	161,073
Answer papers accepted	56,741	16,629	107,044
Percentage of accepted to written papers	66.93	70.01	66.45
Percentage of honor papers to accepted papers	17.47	15.25	11.01

The facts show that learning may thrive either in a great city or in a country village, either in a large class or a small one, either in a fine house or a plain one, if there are spirit and purpose, and the needed books and appliances, and, above all, if there is a real teacher there.

Of the 561 academic schools in villages of less than 5000 inhabitants, 297, or more than half, excelled the state average in accepted papers or in honor papers in a given examination. The state average was 65.9. There were 154 of these schools with an average of 70% or

more; 96 with an average of 75% or more; 42 with an average of 80% or more, and 15 with an average of 85% or more.

It is not necessary to discuss all of the factors in the case. The tributary elementary schools, the physical life and intellectual qualities of the students, the absence of distracting amusements, work with individual students, and the earnestness that is commonly associated with life near the soil are all involved in the problem. Books, apparatus, and laboratories constitute very important factors. There is sufficient reason for saying that the equipment in books and apparatus of New York high schools and academies is, by reason of the excellent policy of the state followed for a long time, uniformly much stronger than that of any other general system of secondary schools in the world. The policy in this direction has been so liberal as to raise doubts about all that has been bought being capable of advantageous use. The decisive factor in the problem is inevitably the teaching.

The carefully developed facts do not warrant any severe or general criticism upon the teaching in the secondary schools. Though but a minority of the teachers have had the preparation which must hereafter be demanded, they have in general made the most of themselves and met their responsibilities creditably. The schools have multiplied rapidly. The demand for completely prepared teachers has exceeded the supply. Strong men principals are scarce. The industrial activity is affecting the supply of teachers for all schools, and particularly for the higher positions where the compensation is not commensurate with the higher requirements and responsibilities.

College-trained men are needed at the head of all academic schools. How can a school which prepares for college do its work without a college man at its head? How

can any school in such a system of schools expect to be as good as others in the system without a college man at its head? To be sure, there are an endless number of men who have never been to college who know more of things very desirable to know than very many who have been to college can ever hope to know, but the headship of an academic school is a place which demands a man with the experience, the discipline, and the ideals of the man who has been trained in college.

Unquestionably the place needs a *man*. Its conspicuity in the community, its relations to the educational activities of the state, the masculine qualities desirable in its administration, the needs of the boys in the schools, all call for a man. There will be women enough in the faculty in any event to supply the feminine qualities which are desirable in the management of the school. This is not said in ignorance of the fact that women are needed more than men in many places in the schools. Nor does it controvert the principle that a strong and good woman is better than an effeminate man in any place in the schools. Every large work in which many people are associated needs the management of men and women working together. If the academic schools are to have even that, there must be men at their heads.

Emphasis has been laid upon the qualities and training of the principal because the competent and successful man in that position ought to effectuate suitable appointments throughout the faculty. But it is safe to predict that eventually *all* of the teaching in the academic schools will be done by college-trained men and women. New appointees in those schools should be so trained. And with the colleges turning out so many graduates, particularly so many women, there is no difficulty about it if the compensation is what it ought to be.

Further statistics from New York state bearing upon this subject may be illuminating.

There are 665 public high schools in the state. Of these, 69 are in the cities, 35 in villages of 5000 or more inhabitants, and 561 in the smaller villages.

The teachers in these schools are classified as follows :—

College graduates	1824
Normal school graduates	967
Holders of state certificates	164
Holders of other certificates	465
	<u>3420</u>

In the city high schools:—

College graduates	1190
Normal school graduates	238
Holders of state certificates	84
Holders of other certificates	257
	<u>1769</u>

In the village high schools:—

College graduates	634
Normal school graduates	729
Holders of state certificates	80
Holders of other certificates	208
	<u>1651</u>

The average salaries of men principals in villages are as follows :—

College graduates	\$1,104.52
Normal graduates	897.65
Holders of state certificates	905.75
Holders of other certificates	798.36

The average salaries of women principals in villages are as follows :—

College graduates	\$916.66
Normal graduates	763.63

Holders of state certificates	\$875.00
Holders of other certificates	597.00

The average salaries of other men than principals in villages are as follows:—

College graduates	\$770.07
Normal graduates	585.92
Holders of state certificates	735.60
Holders of other certificates	705.50

The average salaries of other women than principals in villages are as follows:—

College graduates	\$531.97
Normal graduates	466.76
Holders of state certificates	547.43
Holders of other certificates	447.60

In schools maintaining academic departments, outside of the cities, there are 819 teachers who divide their time between the academic and elementary grades.

The average number of teachers to a high school in the state is 5.2. In the city high schools it is 25.6. In the village high schools it is 2.8.

The percentage of college graduate and state certificate teachers in the city high schools is 72; this percentage in the villages is 43.

The average salary of a man principal in the villages is \$977.37.

The average salary of a woman principal in the villages is \$742.56.

The average salary of men assistant teachers in the villages is \$716.95.

The average salary of women assistants in the villages is \$490.43.

The salaries of the teachers in the high schools are, speaking generally, seriously inadequate to the demands

of the service. They are unjust to the teachers now employed. They do not give sufficient encouragement to remain in and advance in the profession. They are insufficient to attract the most forceful characters and to induce the liberal preparation which the service demands. There are hundreds of college graduates, and others, with years of teaching experience who have spent from fourteen to eighteen years and much money in preparation, who are receiving compensation which dwarfs the schools and hinders the advance which the common interests demand that they shall make. If the men and women who are members of boards of education would be of real service to their people, let them exact the highest competency in the high schools, and give efficient teachers a compensation which will attract them.

The pertinent facts which have been used here have come to the surface in the state of New York, but there is reason enough to believe that they illustrate situations which are common in other states, and that in general the facts point to the same conclusions.

V

COMMON SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

By the "common schools," splendid and meaningful old term that it is, is meant schools that are wholly supported and managed by the people, wholly free from partisanship or sectarianism, and doing the work, either primary or secondary, adaptable to children under the age when they may be deemed to be fairly safe in living away from home.

A leading university question relating to these common schools has to do with the length of the courses in the colleges and below. The older and statelier universities used to receive students in their professional schools without any college training whatever; now they are beginning to exact a college degree. Thirty years ago a medical course at the best university medical schools in the country covered a working period of from eight to twelve months, whereas a course now requires from twenty-four to thirty-six months distributed through four years. But that is not all. In these schools the implication is very common that if one really expects to be thoroughly equipped for the medical profession he must return and take a year or two of graduate work. And even beyond that looms up the rather definite assurance that complete professional expertness lies in the student's being capable of winning an appointment as interne at a great city hospital, and finally of gaining the great opportunity of working with the old doctors for a couple of years more. Under this process, the danger that the student may die before he is fully qualified to save another from dying, becomes a fact which, if it is to have any general application, must be reckoned with.

Out of this grade of professional work are likely to issue the most distinctive scientific achievements and the most beneficent service to human kind. If universities can sustain professional schools upon this plane, so much the more honor to them.

But this length of time in preparation for life work is very commonly regarded as unduly long. Allowing eight years for the elementary school, four for the secondary school, four for the college course, and four for the professional course, it delays the real beginning of work until one is from twenty-six to thirty years of age. Certainly all universities cannot sustain that. What is to be done?

It is frequently suggested that the college course leading to the A. B. degree be shortened. It is said that this course may be reduced to three years without any diminution of the work heretofore required. It is quite possible that the greater efficiency of the secondary schools tributary to some colleges and universities may make this practicable with them. Where this is so, who shall object? If some universities can take that attitude and sustain it, it may be said again, honor to them.

But all universities cannot do that. Perhaps such as try it may not succeed in or may suffer for it. That is their matter. They are of age, and of sound mind and memory still, and it is a free country. Let them try it. The universities which are trying it are foremost in America, guided by men who are the most experienced and trusted leaders in American education. If they succeed, as there is reason to believe they will, their move will mark a distinct advance in the standards of professional learning without sacrificing anything preliminary thereto, or disarranging the educational system below them.

But certain it is that all universities cannot do this. The others cannot think of professional courses any shorter

or less thorough than the best. And they have sufficient reason to fear that they cannot sustain four-year professional courses on the basis of a college degree for entrance, or that they cannot get students competent to do the work heretofore required for the degree, and thus necessary to maintain its standing, in three years. What are they to do? In some instances they propose to let the college course be crowded out altogether, or to make a sort of college of the secondary school by extending its course from four years to six.

All of these propositions have not come from the same source. The authors of one would not sustain another, and they had the right to propose one without being held responsible for another. But all have come from knocking down the first brick. One has led to another. It is to be hoped that the colleges of America are not to be suppressed through a resolution in a university conference, and the great common school system, primary and secondary, is not to be shuffled in the game of university preëminence.

The A. B. degree represents a cherished ideal in America, and a very common sentiment among the educated men and women of the country is outraged at any suggestion of its sacrifice. It is being steadfastly maintained and upheld by many small colleges of moderate means without large equipment. Many of these colleges of slender endowments have a splendid history, for they have given trend and fibre to American scholarship through all the formative period of the Republic. The great universities have come to stay, but that is no reason why the colleges shall go. The particular work which they have done needs to be done as much as it ever did, and they can do it as well as they ever did. Surely there is educational work enough for all. They are to be revered and honored for what they have done. Their affectionate children will not permit them

to be suppressed, and the very common sympathy and support of educated opinion in the country will be with them. It is the poorest kind of educational policy to aid or consent to their overthrow. It is abhorrent to think of their sacrifice because of university competition.

But this is not all that is to be said if these new schemes are to be urged with any seriousness. A recent report of the United States commissioner of education shows that of the entire attendance upon American schools, public and private, elementary, secondary, collegiate, normal, law, medical, theological, technological, and all the rest, 93.31 per cent were in the elementary schools, 5.17 per cent in the secondary schools, and 1.52 per cent in all the rest put together.

Observe the great step there from the elementary school to the high school. Of every hundred youth who come into any American school, ninety-four never go beyond the elementary school. It is said that they may do in six years all the work they now do in eight. That has not been proved. It cannot be proved. Men who say that base their opinion upon children from favored homes, in little hot-house schools, taught by the experts developed in a university. Of the mass it is not true. Of course, a small number of children could do the ordinary work of our elementary schools in six years. Why not let such do it and go on? Why not fix administrative machinery so as to give the few the chance which belongs to them? Or, indeed, why not have some more work in the elementary schools, some vocational work, or some other device for making sure that we keep all who are not going to the high schools busy for the eight years, and perhaps for prolonging the school life of some of the 94 per cent, who will cease going to school altogether when they leave the elementary schools? Why shorten the work and lessen the chance of nine tenths of all who ever come into the schools at all?

Possibly there is less ground for energy of protest against lengthening the work of the secondary schools than for shortening that of the elementary schools, but valid objections to it are not wanting. The attendance upon the secondary schools is not likely to be increased by lengthening the course. Many parents in moderate circumstances are brave enough to face a four-year course who would feel a six-year course too long for them. Is the attendance upon the colleges likely to be enlarged by making a uniform secondary course of six years? Would there be any greater unity in the educational system or any less confusion in the colleges with both four-year and six-year high schools? With the present arrangement, a boy who goes to college does not naturally go before he is eighteen. Should he be delayed beyond that time? By the time a boy is eighteen it is time he had some severance from his parents; a normal boy knows enough to take it by that time. He will mature and broaden more rapidly and strongly by going away from home. If he is to go to college at all, he should go by that time. And he never "goes to college" until he goes away from home. If he is not to go to college, it is high time at eighteen that he should go to work.

Again, public high schools on the plane now established, with such natural improvement in accommodations and equipment as time and experience will bring, go about to the limit of cost which it is good policy for the educationists of the country to insist on imposing upon local communities. The people have supported the public high school movement very heroically. It may well be doubted whether it is good educational policy to demand more work of the high schools under all the circumstances of their support and administration, whether they are looked upon as fitting schools for colleges or not.

Yet, again, it may be well to recall that the high schools

are not the property of the universities. For tone and fibre, and all the uplifting and guiding influences, they are dependent upon the work of the universities; they need the aid of the higher learning to help them to greater proficiency; and it assuredly would be better for them and for the universities if they saw this more clearly than they do; but neither the American elementary nor secondary schools are in any sense the creation of the universities. They are both the products of our free democracy. The public free school, in its inception and its development, expressed no purpose of the college, and had nothing to do with supplying students to the college in the formative periods of our social and educational organizations. Indeed, it is not going too far to say that the free public school was the answer and the protest against the sectarianism and the exclusiveness for which the early American college stood. And this is no more true of the free elementary than of the free secondary school. Even fifty years ago only a comparatively small number of young men from the most intelligent and best-to-do families went to college, and they went up through the private schools and academies; and every time a high school was developed in the neighborhood of a private school or academy it was against such vigorous opposition as the private institution could gather, and such incredulity, skepticism, and active hostility as the colleges to which the academy was tributary could exert. The contest was widespread and often exceedingly bitter. But no one will be courageous enough to say that the high schools, however much they have been aided by, have been the product of, the universities.

The common schools, primary and secondary, are the offspring of American life and conditions. They flow out of those conditions as naturally as the Mississippi flows from the Minnesota lakes. No element in our Republic

caused them, and none could stop them, and none can govern them. They are the expression of national life, the instruments of national purposes, unprecedented in the world. They have come to their present form and plan through the self-conscious power, the intellectual foresight, the genuine heart impulses of our steadily unfolding and sturdily strengthening democratic life. They rest upon not a little formal law, and upon at least one great governmental power which goes down quite as deeply into the ground upon which the structure of government rests as any other power found in our constitutions. They are safeguarded by common sentiment and by settled usage, which are quite as steadfast as laws and constitutions.

Of course the common schools are to be changed. They will be changed slowly, conservatively, when it is clearly to the advantage of the common schools that they shall be. They will never be much changed when the advantage is speculative. When changed it will be out of full experience, through the ripened sentiment of the people, by the activity of officials and boards responsible for their efficiency, through the legislatures which alone have sovereign educational power. One thing seems very certain. Their terms are not likely to be made shorter that the terms in law schools and medical schools may be made longer.

No one can object that some of the universities are developing great scientific and professional schools. On the contrary, there is a very common national pride in them. Such youth as can afford the time and the money ought to take advantage of them. Those schools will go ahead and break out new roads and gain the very mountain peaks of professional eminence; but not at the surrender of cherished ideals; surely not at the cost of a balanced educational system, nor at the expense of the largest educational

opportunity for the ninety-and-nine who go no further than the common schools.

And it seems quite possible for a small number of these great professional schools to go all the lengths they desire, without suppressing any other educational enterprise, or without attempting to recast in a day or two a school system which has been a century in the growing. And it seems quite probable that the greater number of universities cannot do that, and therefore that they ought to be complacent about not doing it.

It is a false assumption that all universities should do the same thing in conditions which are very unlike. The tendency to imitate and the inability to discriminate about what should be imitated is a very great weakness in American education. Some universities dare not do what they propose unless all universities will do the same thing at the same time. It is well that the requirements and the offerings and the length of courses of each shall follow the outlook and be limited only by its own resources and bravery. It is more desirable that each university shall serve its constituency, keeping a little ahead of and yet in touch with its people, than it is that all do just the same things and aim at precisely the same ends. Each should have the sense and the courage of its own situations.

No subject lays more claim to cautious consideration by American universities than the influence of those universities upon the kind of work laid out and the quality of the teaching done in the lower and the middle schools. And there are few subjects with which universities find it more difficult to deal in satisfactory and helpful ways.

The science of education is a new science. Some university men are pursuing it carefully and with important results. Of these, more find interest in the psychological than the pedagogical side of it, and even in psychology they

find more fascination in abnormal than in normal intellectual processes. This is natural enough in the research work of a university, but it is the least helpful to the work and the teaching of the lower schools. But there are more university teachers who have no time for, or no interest in, a science of education than there are who are helping it. There are not a few who repudiate it altogether. Like other institutions, universities do not readily break from the usages and understandings they have commonly followed. Universities have not been accustomed to bend their backs to lift up the schools below. Indeed, they have hardly been used to much association with other institutions of equal grade or of lower grade in an educational system. The traditional tendencies of universities have been toward independence and exclusiveness. The difficulty of their teachers in so expressing themselves that they may be understood by the common people has only been excelled by their inability to understand the thought and outlook of the masses. Many university teachers are as unconscious of what the people are thinking as the people are ignorant of what the university teachers are doing. It has remained for the developing plans of our American educational system to change this. There was but little move in this direction even in America until the universality and efficiency of the common schools made it rather obvious that universities must expect the students most vital to their life from this source, or contemplate the alternative of lacking students; nor until the marvelous growth of the state universities had given adequate emphasis to the protest of our democratic society against the exclusiveness of attitude and the narrowness and one-sidedness of instruction prevalent even in American colleges and universities. But the demonstration has been sufficiently complete and apparently very well comprehended. They are all

ready enough now to do and dare for the common schools. The old attitude was sincere and the new one is genuine, if not easy. And if universities are as very clumsy in helping the lower schools, as a young father might well be in snuggling his firstborn to his heart, or as a sergeant of police might be in cuddling a foundling, there ought not to be impatience so long as there is evidence of considerable appreciation of what needs to be, and a movement of adequate power and good intentions on correct lines.

The whole plan of the universities — the kind of work and method of procedure, the ways of teaching, the independent and self-dependent life of the students, the feeling and outlook of the whole university body — is a radical departure from that of the schools below. This, it must be admitted, really unfits some men for usefulness in the world or helpfulness to the schools below.

Again, some university men lose their heads through their freedom. They go floating around in the upper ether, often in a kind of irresponsible intellectual intoxication. Some of them even soar the higher and dissipate the more recklessly because only fool things get into the newspapers and nothing is so idiotic as to be barred out. But the primary and the secondary schools have to rest upon the earth, and have to respond to very matter-of-fact people who are guided by considerations not ordinarily exploited in the newspapers. To find a way to sustain free thinking and limit fool talk, to protect one in his academic liberty and yet keep him anchored to the verities of life, is a problem of higher education which surely has a very vital bearing upon the helpfulness of universities to a general system of education.

Nevertheless, universities are not new developments. They are the products of the best thinking and the highest purposes of the world through a thousand years. They

have come to their present estate through a long, long process of accumulation, of opposition and ridicule, of aspiration and discussion, of giving and doing and sacrificing, which comprise the finest heroisms in all the world. No ruthless or unfriendly hand shall assail them. As Randolph said of Virginia, "No one shall criticise her but me." The plan and work and ideals of the universities change, but marked change in the thought and policies of universities is a laborious process, and must proceed slowly. Under all the circumstances, the American university advance is most surprising. In all the intellectual development of the world there have been no such changes in the work and the ideals of advanced education as in the last generation have been forced upon American colleges by the swelling and throbbing impulses of our spontaneous national life. But great as those changes have been, there is sufficient reason for believing that American universities will go still farther in response to popular demands, and will be much more serviceable in coalescing a great national system of education in the years to come than in the years that are gone.

What and how much may the American public expect from American universities in making the best practicable educational system? The question is difficult to answer, but in part it may be expected that they will realize that there is a science of education and pursue it; that they will not assume that this may be done very effectually in a laboratory of experimental psychology alone, nor yet in a little school of pupils from favored homes who pay tuition alone, nor yet again by theorists who have little of the feelings and know little of the spirit which centres in the common schools; but rather in the ordinary schools of the country, and with knowledge that those schools are the people's schools, are not to be overhauled every time

a student of education grows a new convolution, but improved cautiously, only by innovations which have passed the stage of doubtful experiment and are able to command a very substantial public approval; and also that they will realize that the problem is exceedingly large because of very wide application, and is nothing short of welding together all kinds of people in a common purpose to raise the level of national intelligence and virtue.

It may be expected that college teachers will mingle more with the lower schools, gaining a truer understanding of their purposes and their difficulties, realizing, what the public sees, that one may be very expert in one thing and only slightly expert in other things, and that a great expert is in quite as dire peril as any one else when he dabbles in other subjects than the one he possesses.

University teachers are gathered from the great schools of the world. Some of the greatest have never been in our common schools, and it must be admitted that some who have been in them have been out of them so long, and have gone through so much in the meantime, that they have only a very inadequate conception of the intricacies of common school life. If the common schools are to be the large source of supply to the universities, the process of assimilation must lead more university men to understand the limitations which are upon the common schools and to realize that it may not be well to exact some things of them, or to burden a community beyond the limit. It is likely, too, that more importance will be attached to the exactness of the teaching than to the number of things done in preparation for college work; that there will be a more generous recognition of the claims of other subjects than their own; that they will see a larger value in a balanced system of education which holds out the fair chance to the large percentage of pupils who are not going to college

as well as to the relatively small number who are; and that they will get where they can stand for the common opportunity for all, not as a mere form, or in a patronizing way, but with genuine enthusiasm, because they will see that a very large percentage of the captains of the world are men of the crowd who have been able to make the most of their chance. The smooth and continuous road from the kindergarten to the university is an admirable thing, but there will have to be places upon it where the many who must, or who wish, may leave it and go to work without being humiliated, or unfitted for the life they are to lead.

The activities for which the universities stand have a weighty influence upon the lower and the middle schools. Until our day, the universities have mainly stood for literary culture, for philosophical discussion, and for a little research in the natural sciences. They have just fairly begun to investigate the industries of the people and broadly to uplift the intellectual and social life of the multitude through the applications of science to work. This new tendency has already engaged popular interest and enthusiasm. It is already bringing popular support to, and creating popular demands upon, the universities. It is inevitably destined to go much further, and it will certainly relate to the instruction in the earlier schools. The trend of those schools, their ideals of the educated man, will not lead inevitably to the library or to the old-time learned professions, but as well to the producing, transporting, manufacturing, building, and commercial industries. There may even be danger of this thing going too far. It is for the universities to stand for learning in any field, to repel all that is not scientific and not true, and above all, to keep all the schools of the country bound together in purposeful accord, and moving safely to the

accomplishment of the national ideals. The destiny of our democracy is wrapped up in integrity, in mental acumen, in manual industry, in living by work more than by wits, in international generosity and straightforwardness. The schools, high and low, must make for these great ends, and the universities must place themselves on stronger ground to help all the schools to realize them.

There will surely be more concern to avoid any weakening of the schools below by attracting their pupils before they have completed all the work which the elementary and secondary schools can give them. It deals an irreparable injury to those schools. It wrongs the pupil, humiliates the college, and weakens the whole educational system.

It may confidently be expected that the colleges and the universities will do much more than they are doing to prepare teachers for the secondary schools. There has been a good deal of a hiatus in our educational system right here. Teachers for the elementary schools are being very well prepared at the state normals and in the city normal training schools, but in very insufficient numbers. The breadth of the work in the normals is not equal to the demands of the secondary schools. On the other hand, the universities have given only inadequate attention to the preparation of teachers. Public sentiment would not sustain the expense involved in broadening the curriculum at the normals so as to meet the needs of the secondary schools, at least until the claims of the primary schools are more fully met. And the secondary schools are not going to be content with teachers without university training. The universities must meet the situation which the rapidly growing high schools have forced. It may be done without impinging upon the domain of the normals. Indeed, it may be best done by not imitating the normal plans. The practice school is well placed in the plan of the normal

school: it has very little place in the plan of the university. Because of situation, the experimental school of a normal makes some approach to an ordinary common school; that of a university is much more exceptional. Methods are of much moment in an elementary school, but of less importance in a secondary school, and of little significance beyond that. The subject-matter pursued in a university, coupled with the substantial study of the science of education, comprises a better preparation for teaching in the middle schools than is to be gained by much emphasis and drill upon methods. But the great educational system of the country must be the laboratory of the university department of education. A university college for the training of teachers of all grades stands on middle ground, but it will fall short if its most useful laboratory is not in the common schools.

The universities are anxious to be of all possible help to the schools below. Of course they are not agreed upon details, but they have purposes which are common, and in recent years they have grown in fraternal regard and in coöperative effectiveness. They may seem a little clumsy in the face of duties universities never dreamed of before, but, like everything else in this country, they are adaptable, and they will adjust themselves to the conditions and shoulder the responsibilities.* Out of it all will come an educational system with greater solidarity, marked by more exactness of organization and more scientific arrangement of work, and moving upon a higher plane.

There is another great subject in this connection which should not be overlooked, and that is, the moral influence of the universities upon their own students and upon the other schools. The country has the clear right to expect that the universities shall exert a distinctly moral, steady-
ing, and uplifting influence upon the educational system.

That they are leading the purely intellectual development of the country very thoroughly will hardly be questioned in any quarter. But there are many good people who think that religion should be taught in the common schools and that all of our young men and women should be trained in what are called the Christian colleges. There are those who would put the burden of occasional waves of irresponsible conduct, disorder, and crime upon the schools moving under the leadership of the universities. It may well be questioned whether there is warrant for the thought that the universities are not scoring up to the measure of their opportunities and their responsibilities in generating spiritual life and developing moral character among their students and in the lower schools and in the nation.

A university is not a show affair; it is not a specially dressed company of young people on their good behavior for an hour. It is a large crowd of real men and women in natural life. They have real ambitions and real passions. They are not under much restraint. Many are without restraint for the first time in their lives. Often they abuse their freedom; frequently they do things under the influence of others which they would not do alone.

The general influences of a university make for versatility and resourcefulness, and stimulate the best ambitions and purposes. The life is democratic and the talk free. Men are sized up quickly. Pretense and indirection do not go. There is no other free life in the world in which integrity and industry and generosity are so speedily and warmly recognized, or in which spuriousness or stupidity carries one so swiftly to the deeps. The sentiment of the college community is as inexorable as the semester examination. This influence upon the individual is marked.

There is, ordinarily, a very high average, both in quantity and quality, of spiritual life in the university. If religion

is a matter of living and of thinking rather than of preaching and parading, there is more of it under the roofs of a university than in any other miscellaneous assembly gathered from the respectable people of the earth. Here, too, the discussion is free, and youths who would hardly express their heart-life under other circumstances find themselves talking about matters that relate to it. Expression promotes growth. Cant is not taken seriously. Even religious dyspeptics sometimes have the kinks shaken out of them. Sectarianism is respected, but not accepted as the groundwork of religion. Creeds written in mediæval times and held too sacred to be analyzed or discussed are passed with more deference for their age than acknowledgment of their right to bind. And this does not promote free thinking, if by that is meant illogical thinking, or any thinking which does not accord with the common experiences of mankind and the truths which the progress of human knowledge has unlocked. All this makes the average of heart-life, as well as of mind-life, in a university exceptionally broad, unconfined, and true.

There are some special temptations in university life, arising out of the fraternal relations which are very warm among students, and out of the loyal purpose to support a "varsity" team in an intercollegiate contest; and sometimes these temptations are given too much opportunity by the very common, but inadequate, plan upon which a university is governed, or upon which a university crowd is left without government.

There is not much government in a university. The assumption is common, and it is justified, that when students come to college they are men and women grown, and able to govern themselves. If one cannot do that with such aid as can be given him, he should be sent home. It is convenient for college presidents to know nothing

of things which may be going on, but if the things spring from or lead to corruption, may imperil others, or stain the name of an institution, it is weak or vicious to know, or to assume to know, nothing of them. The theory of the German universities, that all they have to do is to *teach* students without any reference to their morals, cannot widely obtain in America, for it is to be feared that the serious pursuit of study is not yet as uniform here as there, and moreover, the university purpose in America is the making of men even more than the making of scholars. It is well not to meddle with the ordinary plans and ways of young people, but it is well to go with them in doing things so far as you are welcome, whether you are specially interested or not. On the other hand, it is a real satisfaction to the overwhelming number of young people, and it is a genuine public service, if some things are suppressed at the incipient stages by a power which is authoritative and not sleeping.

A saloon and a university have nothing in common, and if any student is uncertain about that he should be required to elect the one or the other. Drunkenness is a vice not permissible in the least measure in a university society. It is hard to keep university athletics straight and clean; and when success in great intercollegiate contests may be gained by letting corruption in, there is a temptation menacing university boys which calls for the big club of university authority. A college president with a benignant countenance and a meek and mild eye says that betting on athletic games ought to be discouraged. Of course it should. It is no better than betting on a horse-race; it undermines and overthrows character. It ought to be discouraged so vigorously that it will take to the swamps and know enough to keep out of a university. Boys are to have such safeguards and helps as may be given them.

With a little more courage and energy of university action

against the evils which are the special menace of the weaker heads through the circumstances of university life, there is not much to be desired in the way of influences which combine for the upbuilding of well-rounded men and women in the universities of the country.

The answer to the question, "Are the universities scoring up to their moral possibilities?" must, of course, be, that they are human institutions, and that all such come short of their ideals, but that the prevailing conditions are quite as favorable as could be expected at this early time in the development of our educational system; that the free life vital to the growth of self-reliant men is remarkably free from excesses, and that moral influences combine admirably in the great universities to develop resourceful and balanced character and to train for useful lives.

The interests of American education demand closer relations between the public schools — elementary and secondary — and the colleges and universities. Scientific methods and liberal culture must be carried down into the lower and middle schools in larger measure than has yet been done. College men and women will have to do it. But they will have to do it in a broad-minded way. They must not suppose that all in the lower schools must go to college or lose their birthright. The educational system of the country must be a balanced system, holding out the utmost of opportunity to every one, while promoting the integrity, the industry, and the scientific and literary progress of the nation.



III
THE COLLEGE AND THE
UNIVERSITY



I

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

THE world sees, if willing to see, a new type of university in this country in the last half century. It is worth while to inquire how it has come to be, and what are the features which distinguish it.

All of the older social systems of the world, no matter how advanced in political philosophy or in the arts and sciences of civilization, have shown a distinct cleavage between the upper and the nether classes. The names of things have been different in different countries and the things themselves have had all manner of forms and colorings, but the fact has been wellnigh universal that there have been two great classes, and that a small higher class has ruled a much larger lower class. As generally as this has been true, the universities have been the creations, and have reflected the outlook and executed the purposes of the higher class. The higher class has never been anxiously concerned about widely diffusing a universal learning. The change is in the interests of the masses, and relates to their concerns, and has come through the fact that in this country the larger class is having much to say about it.

Until in our country, and practically in our time, the university has stood for some manner of exclusiveness. It may have been for a monarch and what he implies; it may have been for a more or less constitutional state; it may have been for a church; it may have been for a profession or a guild: never, until now, has it stood for all learning and for all the people.

This was almost as true of early American as of foreign

colleges or universities. We too often forget — if, indeed, we have ever realized — that our American democracy, with its great elements of toleration, equality before the law, no special privileges, and with its public institutions of equal service to all, did not at once come full-fledged into the world by the migration across the sea of a few thousand people of well-settled notions. The common thought and the social and institutional life of the Old World persisted in the New. Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Rutgers, Brown, Dartmouth, all stood at first for aristocracy in the state, for denominationalism in religion, and for a learning which was exclusively culturing and professional. They never dreamed of uplifting the common people or of applying scientific research to the industries of the country until new political conditions gave the plain people their opportunity.

It does not signify any lack of appreciation of the great qualities which the early settlers brought to this country, to say that the dominant and distinguishing thought of the nation has come from the compounding of a new nation out of pretty nearly all kinds of people in the world. The very necessities of the situation have broken down all general distinctions between classes, and brought forth a national political philosophy with a universal freedom of initiative and a popular efficiency in consummation which the world has never seen before. It is this which has made a new manner of university. It has remodeled the earlier universities, and it has brought very quickly into vigorous life many powerful institutions which stand for the universal purpose to promote the universal good. Some of them have resulted from the benefactions of a man of wealth, some from the leadership of a great executive and the work and love of a multitude of others who had little besides work and love to give, and some through

the popular determination working through the political machinery of the state. But *all* have had to appeal to a constituency which was wider than any class, or sect, or party, or lose in the race for efficiency, renown, and usefulness, and such as have been able to meet the needs of such a constituency have found overwhelming support and response to their ability to do it.

It is interesting to see that the university development has been strongest where our democracy has been the freest. As new states were settled to the westward by a people who lacked little in moral purpose and nothing in initiative or in courage, they not only took good care of an elementary school system, but commonly provided for a state university in their new constitutions. The older states could not do that when they were organized because neither legal opportunity, nor political philosophy, nor educational theory, nor the force of popular initiative was up to the point of doing it at that time. And the lead in freedom and in force of popular initiative which the newer states gained from the fullness of their opportunity, they seem likely to hold. They are certainly diffusing the higher learning more completely among all the people without regard to heredity or wealth than any other people in the world. They have established proprietorship in a universal school system of sixteen grades, beginning with the kindergarten and continuing along a smooth and unbroken road up to and through the university, which is unique in the history of education. They see, as those in the East do *not* see, that the logical educational result of our fundamental political theory leads to a university so free at least that no one who is prepared for it, and aspires to it, shall fail to reach it only because he lacks the money to pay the cost. The natural outworking of our political philosophy makes it certain that this ideal will obtain in the course of

time wherever the presence of the flag of the Union determines the educational policy of the people.

When it was settled that we were to have a public high school system all over this country, it was practically settled that we should have a public university system as well. One thing in intellectual evolution and educational opportunity accomplished in America, another thing, and a higher thing, will follow almost as a matter of course.

The building of public high schools made it certain that the colleges already established would have to forego much of their exclusiveness, and that there would be new colleges and groups of colleges in which the control would not be with any class.

The fundamental political philosophy and the deliberate democratic purpose of this country are opposed to the educational exclusiveness in other lands. It is not that any one is against all the exclusiveness that anybody wants in his private or family life; it is a matter of temperament, of congeniality, of experience, and of taste, and in personal affairs these are to have their way; but the settled purpose of the country will have no barriers in education, — at least so far as the common wealth and the common political power may be used to afford educational opportunities to all.

Happily, the high school movement in America has proved to be a great disorganizer of classes, as well as a great help to the diffusion of higher learning. It has made men and women of all classes know one another better and regard one another more. It has gained and retained the interest of many of quick mentality, marked business success, and newly acquired wealth in popular education. It has been the secret spring of many a great gift to a university, and of much munificence for the common good.

And, whatever else it has done, it has created an overwhelming influence for the development of universities

and for determining the essential features of new universities in America. There was reason for the earliest and most decisive manifestation of this movement in the newer states. There were no old-line academies and colleges there to stand in the way of it. The settlers were of the finest New York and New England stock; they knew about the very best in education. The parents were ready to lay down their all, even their lives, for their children; and they had a clear field. Of course, with such a people the schoolhouse became the most conspicuous building in the pioneer village, and of course a little "college" sprang up in every considerable town. Of course, again, with such a people the public high school had its quickest and perhaps its most luxuriant development. The sooner the high school became a fact, the sooner higher education became a passion. When the federal land grants were made to higher education in all the states, right at the darkest hour in the Civil War, the eastern states hardly knew about them at all, and have never made more than perfunctory and indifferent use of them, while the western states have seized them with avidity, put them to their utmost possibilities, and added to them from ten to an hundredfold.

And these federal land grants in themselves have had much to do in fixing the predominant type of university in America. With the complete recognition of the principle that it is within the functions of a democratic state to do — or to delegate the legal power to do — whatsoever the people want to do for learning, and with general education boards with millions at their disposal every year for the higher institutions, it is not difficult to see that the colleges and universities in America which will endure will minister to all the people, without reference to their means, and will promote every phase of honorable endeavor without regard to class or station.

Let it not be inferred that the typical American university is, or is to be, the poor man's university. It is not to be burdened with any qualifying adjectives. It is to be the rich man's and the poor man's alike. Its strength is, and is to be, in the fact that it is representative of the common life. It is to be no more exclusive than the Constitution of the country is exclusive, save upon the one point of ability to do its work. It brings rich and poor, men and women, together upon the basis of advanced scholarship, and it gives intellect an opportunity which is distinctly higher and nobler than any that can follow the mere accidents of birth or the mere incidents of life.

No university can be a real or an effective American university and follow the exclusive educational ideals of other countries and other times. A new nation has been compounded in this country out of people from all social, industrial, political, and moral conditions in the world. That nation is working out its own salvation. It is doing it safely and effectually upon lines that are peculiar to itself. The net result will be the freest and the finest uplift to the intellectual and moral state of men and women that the world has ever seen. This thing is not only going through this nation, but, largely through the instrumentality of this nation, it is going through the world. It must, of necessity, create instrumentalities which are peculiarly its own. Above all, its educational institutions of the first rank, which must regulate the ebb and flow of the nation's best and truest thought, cannot be limited by ideals which had reached their zenith before our nation was born and before our political science had begun to make its revolutionary impressions upon the thinking and the destiny of mankind. America cannot be limited by conditions which prevail at this time in other nations and their institutions. Without, by any means, descending to the low level of

declaring that things in this country are better than things in other countries only because they *are* in this country, and cheerfully recognizing the vastness of the knowledge yet to be gained from other lands, it may yet be asserted, in words that will leave little to be misunderstood, that our universities cannot follow the British university, with its narrow, purely classical and purely English scholarship, which is studiously prevented from being broadened by that fatuous policy of the ruling classes which stubbornly refuses the organization of all secondary schools through which the only people who can broaden it may come to the universities at all. Neither is the scheme of the French universities acceptable, overbalanced as they are with the mechanical and the imaginative, and dominated by the martial feeling and the military organization of a people who need the opportunity of thinking freely above all other things. Nor is the German university to be copied, which puts the scientific method first, regards sound morals but little, and conveniently absolves itself from all responsibility about the character of its students, so long as they can use a microscope to magnify the strength of the empire. And if our universities cannot be guided by the English or French or German, they cannot be guided by any. They will take and they will leave whatever will serve their ends either by taking or leaving. Institutions will be built up which make for scholarship, for freedom, and for character, and which, withal, will look through American eyes upon questions of political policy, and train American hands to deftness in the constructive and manufacturing industries of most concern to the United States.

There has been no more noteworthy or promising development in our intellectual, political, or industrial life than the flocking of students in recent years to the universities which show a rational appreciation of the educational

demands of our American life, and a reasonable disposition to meet the needs of the educational situation. Even where a university is not situated in a large city and is not sustained by an attendance which will go somewhere and can go nowhere else, it has stood in no need of students or of support if it could enter into the spirit of the Republic and would offer sound instruction which had some human interest and some real bearing upon practical training for our own professional and industrial life.

A mere English or culturing training, no matter how excellent and necessary a thing in itself, is no longer a preparation for the professions. The legal profession demands that, and also a great and varied special library; a knowledge of legal history and theory; certainty about the statutes and the decisions; aptness at associating all in a comprehensive and logical whole, and readiness at applying the correct parts to new cases. It requires years of study under expert and practical teachers, with ample accommodations, in a special school, almost necessarily associated with a university. Medicine claims the English training, and then exacts years of research in chemistry, zoölogy, bacteriology, physiology, and other fundamental and kindred sciences, requiring great laboratories and costly equipment which can hardly be provided at all outside of the great universities. After that, the theory and practice specially appertaining to the profession must have a special school, and again almost necessarily, one associated with a university. It is the same with architecture, and engineering, and agriculture, and all the professional and industrial activities of the country. It is even largely so with the fine arts. All demand the libraries, and laboratories, and drafting-rooms, and shops, and athletic grounds, and gymnasiums, and kitchens, and all the other things which only the large universities can provide, and all stu-

dents do their own work more happily and absorb much from the work of the others when they get their training in association with the crowd in the university. Wherever the university offers all these things, there the students gather; there thought is free, — but is very liable to have the conceits taken out of its freedom; there the actual doing outweighs the mere talk; there practical research cuts dogmatism to the bone; there honest work has its reward, and pretense its quick condemnation; there men and women measure up for what they *are* rather than for what they claim; there inspiration is given to every proper ambition, and there a great and true American university develops.

All this has led to some very sharp differentiation between the external forms and the manner of government and the plan of work of American and foreign universities. For example, the board of trustees is largely peculiar to American universities. It stands for the mass in university government and policy. On the other side of the sea there is no *mass* in university affairs. Charters run in the name of the king; the king is the head of the university, as of the state; and the king, or the king's minister, determines the course the university is to pursue. The early American colleges were all chartered by the king; even parliament had no part in the matter. In the midst of the Revolution, just following the defeat of St. Leger at Oriskany, of Clinton in his movement up the Hudson, and of Burgoyne at Saratoga, when neither king nor parliament was much in vogue in New York, and when a petition was presented to the young state government for the chartering of Union College, there was not a little embarrassment as to whether it should be addressed to the governor or to the legislature, and as to which should deal with it. Yankee ingenuity met the difficulty by addressing the prayer to both, and

statecraft split the difference by creating the board of regents to deal with such matters. But, however chartered, the board of trustees stands for the donors, the creators, and the public, in giving trend to the course of the university. The point of it is that the founders, either the donors or the public, or both, are represented by the trustees.

The early American colleges, copied upon foreign prototypes, have had to do so much readjusting that their old friends would not recognize them, and the ones which came a little later were shaped to fit situations which have nearly or quite disappeared. From now on they will not be able, and probably they will not be disposed, to dominate university policy in the United States. They will be obliged to work in accord with the overwhelming number of universities, colleges, and secondary schools, taken together. They will have to accept students who can do their work, and who want to do it, without so much reference to how or what they have studied somewhere else. The western boys and girls say that under the accrediting system, by which institutions are examined more than students, it is easier to get into western than into eastern universities, but that, once in, it is hard to stay in a western university, while one who gets into an eastern university can hardly fail to be graduated if he will be polite to the professors and pay the term bills. And the western people say that their way is best; that every one must have his chance; that at least his chance is not to be taken away upon a false premise; that if he "flunks out" after having had his chance it is his fault, and no one is going to worry about it; and that it is better to regard the graduation standards and apply them to four years' work than that the faculty must know all about than to make a fetich of entrance requirements and have so much ado about prior

work, — about which they can know very little at the best. It is all worth thinking about.

The large and strong universities will not only wax larger and stronger, but they will multiply in number. Because there will be so many of them, no one of them will serve so widely scattered a constituency as heretofore. Women are going to have the same rights as men to the higher learning. Boys will not always go to a university because their grandfathers went there. The time will come when every large and vigorous city and the territory naturally tributary thereto will have a great university, able not only to satisfy its needs of the culturing studies, but also its demands for professional and business upbuilding.

What is to become of the literary colleges? They are to flourish so long as they can provide the best instruction in the humanities, and do not assume names which they have no right to wear, and do not attempt to do work which they can do only indifferently. They will train for culture and they will prepare for the professional work as of yore. And wherever one does this well and is content to do so, it is to have every sympathy and support which an appreciative public can give. But no institutions, of whatever name or grade, are going to fool all the people for a great while, and the young men and women of America are going to have the best training that the world can give, and have it not a thousand miles from home. It is no longer necessary to cross the sea in order to get it, and even our own older universities are close upon the time when they must take from the newer ones more than they give to them.

Obviously, the American university, as no other university in the world, must regard the life and especially the employments of the people. It must exhibit catholicity of spirit; it must tolerate all creeds; it must inspire all schools; it must guard all the professions, and it must strive to aid

all the industries. It must quicken civic feeling in a system where all depends upon the rule of the people. It must stand for work, for work of hand as well as of head, where all toil is alike honorable, and all worth is based upon respect for it.

In a word, our immigration is making a nation of a wholly new order; our democracy is developing a new kind of civilization; our system of common schools, primary and secondary, has brought forth a type of advanced schools peculiar to the country. Institutions that would prosper may well recognize the fact. The universities that would thrive must put away all exclusiveness and dedicate themselves to universal public service. They must not try to keep people out; they must help all who are worthy to get in. It is not necessary that all of these institutions shall stand upon exactly the same level; it is necessary that each shall have a large constituency; it is necessary that all shall connect with the schools that are below them. It is imperative that all shall value the man at his true worth and not reject him because his preparation has lacked an ingredient which a professor has been brought up to worship. Essentially so when, in case the boy has studied the subject in the high school, the professor is as likely as otherwise to tell him that he has been wrongly taught, and that he must get what he has learned out of his head before he can start right and hope to know the thing as he ought. It is necessary that all shall be keen enough to see what is of human interest, and broad enough to promote every activity in which any number of people may engage.

The American university will carry the benefits of scientific research to the doors of the multitude. It will make more sanitary houses and handsomer streets, richer farms and safer railways, happier towns and thriftier cities, through the application of fundamental principles to all

the activities of all the people. It will train balanced men and women, and therefore it will promote sport as well as work, and control the conduct of students as well as open their minds. It will not absolve itself from any legitimate responsibilities which instructors are bound to bear towards youth. It will preserve the freedom of teaching, but it will not tolerate freakishness or license in the name of freedom of teaching. It will engage in research as well as instruction, but when men absolve themselves from teaching for the sake of research it will insist upon a grain of discovery in the course of a human life. There is a distinct national spirit in America. An American university will understand how that has come to be and what it is aiming at, will fall in with it, will be optimistic about it, and will help it on to its fullest consummation.

II

THE TREND IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

AMERICANS are ever ready to try out new propositions. Not many Americans are very discriminating about projects. The spirit of the country is not satisfied until suggestions have been put to the practical test. If individual and personal initiative is needed, any number of people will supply it; if public action is necessary, nearly everybody will support it. As individuals, and even more as a people, we are bound to get all the possibilities out of all the things we chance to think of. Our native energy and common optimism are ever disposed to experiment, and our free-flowing democracy and our much legislation make it easy enough to do so. If something results we are very happy for we have made an addition to our already very good collection of national assets; if nothing results there is no harm, — we have had the fun which we get out of experimenting, and the laugh which we associate with failure. It all stimulates productivity. It puts a premium upon the novel; but it makes headway and brings out great results. Our energy and our optimism are valuable national properties. They lead us into some passing blunders, but they give us many enduring results.

It is strikingly so in matters educational. It is the intention of the people who control the destiny of the United States to do everything, to try out every manner of experiment, which may raise the common level of intelligence and enlarge the opportunity of the boy or girl, the man or woman, in the crowd. It comes pretty near being the national religion. It leads to some incidental absurdities, but to more very striking and permanent advances.

There is apparently some growing doubt in the land about all men being created equal. There is even some skepticism about the laws being wholly without favor, or at least about their being administered so that the rights of all are exactly alike; but there is no doubt whatever of the common determination that every American boy or girl shall have his or her full opportunity through an absolute equality of right to an education. That, at least, has by the common impulse become the first law of our land. The sense of proprietorship in the educational system is universal, and the purpose to make that system the widest and the best in the world is not at all obscure.

The early thought of the nation about education — the thought which our English forefathers brought from over the sea — has completely changed. It is not something good which government is to encourage, but something vital which government must provide. And the government which is to provide it must of necessity be sovereign as well as local and administrative. The educational system is no longer a system which shall supply the elements of knowledge or the primary instruments for gaining knowledge, but a system which is expected to supply all the knowledge which any son or daughter of the state has the preparation and the will to come and take. It no longer acts through schools alone, but through libraries, museums, clubs, lectures, publications, and all other instrumentalities which may possibly raise the level of the intellectual plane.

And when so much in every direction is being attempted at public expense, through officials who are not always experienced, and who get no credit for being conservative, there must be a good deal of commotion much of the time, and no little uncertainty about the net results.

Teachers and other professional managers naturally

respond to the popular impulse; not a few of them capitalize it. When the voice of the people sounds an advance, when the educational associations are ravenous for something new to discuss, when the daily newspapers discriminate in favor of things that are novel, when celebrity is dependent upon proposing something out of the ordinary, teachers, like other classes of our resourceful fellow countrymen, are not likely to be weighed in the balance and found wanting. And it must be admitted that they enjoy it. Even if discussion and agitation do not bring forth results that are lasting, they supply the intellectual pastime which teachers sorely need.

But propositions and projects are not tendencies. Even discussions which entertain for an interminable time and movements which take forever to come to something or nothing, are not trends, but only persistencies, in education. The national character goes on unfolding in its own exclusive and imperial way. It adopts and adapts what can enlarge and enrich the soul of the Republic: all the rest comes to naught. American education accepts and incorporates what can add to the intellectual stores, the mental culture, the philosophical sense, and the industrial productivity of a free people; the rest is forgotten.

One cannot traverse the last twenty-five years of American educational progress without seeing many developments which are so substantial and decisive, and withal so completely accomplished, that they must have become permanent. That period has been marked by truly marvelous advances, not only in the professional, but in the common thought of the nation. It is not too much to say that no such educational advance has been made in all the other history of democratic government and of the English-speaking race. So rapidly and confidently has universal education moved in this country and in our generation that

the outlines of the national educational system of the future begin to appear.

A very distinct differentiation of the schools into elementary, secondary, and higher grades, for the purpose of administration, is going forward. The professional mind is making it and the lay mind is accepting it. It is advantageous to each grade of schools because it puts each upon its own ground and holds each to its own responsibilities. It makes educational values more stable and constant, and it fixes standards capable of wider use. It discredits pretenders, and helps to clear away popular confusion.

In the last thirty or thirty-five years the system of collegiate schools has advanced in numbers, in character, in attendance, in the multiplicity of offerings, and in the measure of public support and popular interest, to an extent which is alike surprising and gratifying to educationists. The college system is giving far more uplift and direction to all schools than the people realize. True as to all parts of the country, this is most emphatically true in the newer parts where democracy has little to hamper it, where new institutions have not come into conflict with older ones which had pretty good rights to the ground and could neither give way nor easily change in character, theory, spirit, relations, or outlook. The sure trend of our educational system is certainly more clearly apparent in the newer states where both the national and state governments have freedom and disposition to coöperate with exceedingly ambitious people who are setting up new institutions. It is particularly true concerning institutions of advanced grade which are providing a general rather than a local service.

Of course no unfavorable implications are cast upon the eastern and older colleges. Indeed, it is doubtless true that some of them are entitled to great credit for having broken away from educationally hide-bound constituencies and

supposedly settled theories, for having accepted the guidance of liberal and masterful leaders, and for having possessed the courage and asserted the freedom necessary to wider service. Possibly the western pioneers, with a necessarily wider because a later outlook, and with less hindrances than the eastern pioneers, are not entitled to so much credit for drawing upon the world's later experiences and making at first hand, controlling, supporting, and shaping to their own ends what the country most needs in the way of both upper and lower schools.

Any substantial uplift in a system of education must come from above. Any great improvement or advance in a class of schools must come from a class of schools higher up. This fact is now actually coming to be recognized by the lower schools themselves in America, and that of itself is giving unwonted trend and character to the national school system. But it necessarily follows that the factors which enter into the scheme and give turns to the plans of the upper schools exert a very strong influence upon the kind of uplift and the direction of the development which those schools give to the middle and lower schools.

In the older states three or four of the better colleges of our fathers have in the last generation developed into leading universities with most of the faculties which educational traditions and modern philosophical and material development make needful. In the meantime the other earlier colleges are getting their ratings and finding their real work in a somewhat exclusive field, but finding new satisfaction in occupying that field with added usefulness and honor. And many new institutions have been established, to fall into one class or another of the higher institutions. The stronger of these institutions in a very great measure, and the others in some measure, are giving tone and breadth to our national scholarship. But, on the whole,

it must be said that they are doing this through their graduates, through our professional and business affairs, through the teachers they have trained for other colleges and universities, rather than through any very direct bearing which they have had upon the lower schools. They have sustained no organic, nor indeed any very sympathetic, connection with lower schools, and their main influence upon the middle schools has had reference to getting students for themselves and to having them prepared to meet their own circumstances and their particular demands. Not more than two or three of the older universities, of which Harvard and Columbia are conspicuous examples, have provided substantial offerings in educational science and administration, or really undertaken in a rational way to study, to train teachers for, or to give energy and direction to, the schools below them. With these very rare exceptions, the older universities and colleges have given only very indirect and disjointed, and often very self-interested, aid to the primary and secondary school systems which have been maturing very rapidly and substantially all around them.

In all states west of New York and Pennsylvania, and in many of the southern states, a distinctly new class of advanced institutions has grown up. In many cases they came into being before the Civil War, and often they were established and provided with revenues by the state constitutions. In several instances the state universities already established were given the federal grants of common lands and public moneys for research; in other cases these grants resulted in new institutions of the more distinctly agricultural and mechanical type. With or without this aid, the state universities began to enlist the enthusiastic interest and financial support of the people of their states in the seventies and eighties, which became even more decisive

in the nineties, and has now gone so far as to completely assure not only their continuance, but their continually enlarging and absolutely decisive influence upon all of the educational activities of their states.

If we were to name twenty of the largest American universities, counting by buildings, equipment, faculties, revenues, offerings, libraries, and attendance, more than half of them would be state universities. Several of these have faculties numbering from three hundred to five hundred teachers, representing every culturing, professional, philosophical, and industrial interest of our widely diversified modern education; and their student bodies often include from three thousand to five thousand people. Their assured support in popular sympathy and public money is alike munificent and magnificent. Their graduates are of course most numerous in their own states, but they are not unknown in any part of the country, nor indeed in any part of any country where something worth while is going on.

The influence of Columbia and Harvard and Yale and some others upon these western universities will always be gratefully admitted, but that should not disguise the fact that they have individuality, purpose, and outlook very thoroughly their own. Refraining from comparisons — as idle as odious — it is moderate to say that in ambition and energy, in the variety of their work and the plane of their standards, in the seriousness and the democratic resourcefulness of their students and the steadily augmenting power of their graduates, and particularly in what they are doing for the industrial development and the sane thinking of the country, they have come to give a decisive trend to the future of American education.

To bring out the special bearing of this work, under the particular environing influences, on literary culture, on the political sciences, on scientific research, on law, medicine,

and architecture, on all lines of engineering, and upon the constructive and agricultural industries, very much might be justly said.

In all parts of the country the secondary schools have become an integral part of the public educational system. In all of the Central, Rocky Mountain, and Pacific states the universities have also become a part of that system. In the East the public school system has twelve grades; in the West it has sixteen. The extent to which the university has become a part of the common school system may be seen from the following bare statements: (*a*) It lays out the courses for the high schools. (*b*) It supplies a very considerable part of the high school teachers. (*c*) It inspects the high schools regularly with its own officer. (*d*) It admits students to the university without examination, from approved high schools, and under the stimulus of popular demand all of the high schools must become worthy of approval. (*e*) The university takes a keen interest in elementary school questions, and is an ever present influence in the teachers' associations. (*f*) It makes the common schools the laboratories of its education department. (*g*) It responds to all popular demands, and becomes a potent factor in determining educational legislation and shaping educational policy. (*h*) It is free, and all ambitious eyes are turned toward it; it is popular, and all boys and girls in the high schools think about going to it. (*i*) It naturally comes to be looked upon as belonging to all the people and so becomes the responsible head and guide of the public educational system.

Of course, this affects the university itself as much as the rest of the system, and again, of course, it brings out a university suited to the needs of a busy, prosperous, and ambitious people, who want the best in the world educationally and are determined to make very free use of their

power to have it. In other words, it is bringing out in our states a new style of university which is already giving decisive trend to the national system of education. And a process which has gone so far in all the states save a half dozen seems likely to be adopted in every state where existing universities do not meet every need at a nominal cost. In newer and older states the new order of university is sure to become yet more decisive in its influence.

Again let it be said that in all this there is no element of implication against the older universities or the literary colleges, which find all the work that they can do thoroughly and well. Inheriting much from European thought and forms, shaped by American conditions when classical training was the sum and professional employments the goal of college work, they have aided and been themselves influenced by the development of a distinctly new class of institutions of higher learning, which have been obliged by the democratic advance in political science and industrial prosperity to defy both English and German models, train for both scholarship and character, and provide practically free instruction in any study to any qualified student.

If one will realize that this great and popular university development within the public educational system is universal in the states which embrace the centres of population, of industrial productivity, and of political control in our country, one will be able to appreciate something of the overwhelming trend which it is giving to our education, and that it is clearly moving our entire system of schools, higher and lower, toward resourcefulness, by the training which fits one for successful living in our complex civilization. The mere rudiments which enable a child to read and write are far from sufficient in the elementary schools, and the linguistic studies which are merely *culturing*, in the old

sense of the term, are no longer in the highest favor in the advanced schools. The early ideals are passing away. The little child must be trained to see, to think, to do, and to express himself; the college student must get the knowledge, the purpose, the power, the steadiness, and the endurance which accomplish substantial results, through mental or manual labor. Culture which gains recognition in this country must be more than skin-deep, and must come from the reactionary discipline of work upon the workman.

The trend of our higher education, up to the present generation, was toward respectable polish for the idle rich, and toward some preparation for the learned professions. The trend of our higher education now is toward a much better preparation for the professions and toward very complete preparation for all of the skilled employments, all of the constructive industries, and all of the commercial activities.

The more complete preparation for the professions has arisen from within the professions themselves, and has resulted very largely from legislation limiting admissions to them. It is but just to say that in this the state of New York has been foremost. In requiring (a) four years' satisfactory work in an approved school of academic grade; (b) four years' satisfactory work in an approved professional school, with the bachelor's degree from an institution duly empowered to confer it, as conditions for admission to the state licensing examination; and (c) in sharply limiting the use of the terms *college* and *university*, New York has given real trend to professional education and professional standards, which many of the states about her are happily beginning to adopt.

In this connection it would be a mistake to omit mention of the decisive tendency to prepare for the professions in

professional schools which are associated with the universities, rather than in offices or in independent institutions. This has led many independent professional schools to seek alliances with universities. It is surely making both the preliminary and professional training much stronger, and it is leading a much larger number of students to more thorough training than they would otherwise get. When we recall how recently there was little preparation, either scholastic or technical, for the professions in America, and how superficial much of the training in independent schools by lecturers who were carrying on regular practice has been, we have special satisfaction in realizing the extent and excellence of the work which the universities are now doing for professional learning and expertness.

The aggressive work of the universities, other than that which is in preparation for the learned professions, has come to be in the courses which are fundamental in administration and in the most successful carrying on of the commercial activities and the constructive and manufacturing industries. There is large demand for training in the chemistry which enters into agricultural and manufacturing activities, in all lines of engineering, in the economics of productivity and trade, and in the technic of all the businesses which follow after them. There is more demand also for the basic work of the political sciences. The demand is the largest where the equipment and teaching are the best. Of course, this all relates to and shapes the courses in the high schools, and in some measure in the elementary schools.

It is doing more than causing the lower schools to prepare students for the higher schools. It is developing a rather common belief in the crowd that a university which does little besides berate the lower schools about suitably training students for itself, is not doing overmuch for edu-

cation; that young people must be trained for subordinate places in business and for manual skill in the trades as well as for the colleges and for positions claiming deep scientific knowledge; that the high schools have not yet accomplished all they ought in this direction, and that there is something lacking in the way of training the masses of children in the elementary schools for efficiency and contentment in the situations in life which they are likely to occupy; that something in the way of public trade schools must be established for the children of the masses at a rather early age, and that the universities and colleges are called upon to recognize that fact and help realize it. In a word, the very development of the higher learning is creating the common thought that more must be done for the elementary learning, that not so much is being done for those who do not go to college as for those who do, and that more must be done to adapt the training of the masses to probable environment and to the inevitable conditions of hand labor and other self-respecting and useful employments.

One of the most gratifying developments of recent years in school administration relates not more to the better understandings and the warmer friendships between schools of different grades than between public and private schools, and between schools in one section of the country with those in another. Presidents and principals and superintendents and teachers are beginning to learn that one gets rich in education not by withholding, but by giving, and that prosperity comes to an institution which knows enough to attend to its own business when it ought and to aid other institutions when it may. This knowledge is propagating deeper mutual respect and closer fraternal regard. Coöperation, rather than competition, is coming to be the policy of the schools.

This growing disposition toward mutual helpfulness

recognizes no state lines or other political boundaries. It is indifferent to provincialism, to sectarianism, to politics, and to all other forms of exclusiveness. That there is a "democracy of learning" which embraces men and women who live in every state and every land, and which gives its ennobling inspiration to persons of every class or race, or church or party, and which is going to aid every intellectual and moral interest of mankind at every opportunity, is coming to be known wherever there are men and women who are moved by the spirit which God has placed in every human breast. It is making the widest, the finest, the most inspiring, and the most influential fraternity that the world has ever known.

In later years there has been a very significant enlargement of the understanding that the true functions of a democratic state justify it in entering upon divers educational activities outside of the schools. It is coming to be accepted without cavil that the state may not only build up a state library for the use of state officials, legislators, and judges, but a state library for the aid of the professions, or for any other interest which may be aided by a collection of books which it cannot itself easily secure or maintain; that books may be loaned from the state library to any one needing them; that local libraries are to be encouraged, subsidized, and guided; and that traveling libraries may be sent about the state to quicken study in every direction. This tendency goes beyond libraries; it extends to museums and all collections which may interest and instruct the crowd; it is very jealous of original historic manuscripts and mementos; it sends standard pictures to the schools and all manner of institutions, and it gives help to art centres, reading circles, study clubs, lecture assemblies, and all other intellectual activities whether they are individual or associated.

The tendency is going yet further. It is extending scientific research to matters concerning the public health, and even to commercial and industrial activities. It would extend every facility to sane and logical thinking and to all rational doing. One state erects laboratories for the chemical, microscopical, and bacterial examination of diseased tissue; another analyzes all drinking water sent to its scientific laboratories and determines whether or not the specimens are free from contamination; another conserves the animals in its forests and propagates the fishes in its waters; another works up its clays into forms both useful and beautiful; another measures the carbon in its coals; another tells its farmers how to add to the potentiality of their acres and what crops will command the readiest markets; and yet another shows its railroads how to get a maximum of speed and hauling power at a minimum of cost. All this and much more is going on, often all of these things, and more, in the same state. The tendency is growing rapidly. It seems destined to give even more decisive turns to the future of our education and our civilization.

The truly significant thing about it is that the more and the better it is done the stronger is the popular support. There is no socialism or paternalism about it. It is merely the outworking of the fundamental American doctrine that in education the masses have the same right of opportunity as the classes. It is using the combined political power to gain the educational results in a short time which without that power a few favored people may get in a long time, and often keep to themselves for a yet longer time. It is all illustrative of the inherent spirit of the country and of the roads which that spirit is bound to break out and follow.

The growing culture, as well as the ever developing business of the country, is quickly reflected in our schools.

There is no country in which the changes are so frequent and the accumulations so apparent, and the progress so rapid; and there is none in which all this so quickly affects the situations and policies of the schools. This is well illustrated in the architecture and the multiplying adornments of the newer school buildings at nearly all of the centres of population. It appears, also, in the art courses which are making their way into the programmes of the schools. The great wealth of the country which embellishes and cultures so many homes does the same for the schools — with this difference, that the influence of it is even more widely and sanely exerted in the schools than in the homes, because the schools are not so likely to be inherited by the superficial and idle rich, with all that is implied thereby. The schools are, in a way, becoming more and more the accumulating and distributing points of the country's culture as well as of the country's justice and prosperity.

Of course, the large fortunes are producing some excessive and unwholesome luxury in the life at some of the universities, but there is no more democratic and leveling institution in the world than an American university, and the students who use their wealth grossly and live riotously are no less likely to lose standing in the common sentiment of the crowd than they are to meet their fate in the semester examinations.

The physical training which is now required very uniformly of the mass of college students and the extent to which sports have been organized are giving manifest turns to our newer education. There is a new respect for health and a new enthusiasm for physical accomplishment. There is a new valuation upon sport and a wider interest in keeping it clean. The whole thing is doing much to attract youth to the high schools and colleges, and is exercising an unmistakable influence upon the life in the elementary

schools. Of course there are and will be excesses, but, on the whole, the influence is good. Children endure pain with less whimpering; life in the open is not only generating new power, but creating new ideals; and the thinking of young people in both city and country grows more sane and ambitious through the striking development of physical training in the schools and of organized interscholastic sport.

No one can foresee the destiny of the Republic, but that there is an educational purpose abroad in the land which has never before been so pervasive and so ambitious in any land seems clear. It is the spirit of a mighty people, gathered from the ends of the earth, enlightened by the world experiences of a thousand years. It is the spirit of a people with outlook and expectancy. The functions of the state concerning every manner of educational activity, in and out of the schools, are being steadily enlarged and strengthened through the initiative or the common desire of the multitude. Growing appreciation is giving greater heed to the advanced institutions and bringing them to the aid of all institutions, and therefore to the intellectual quickening of the entire country. Everything that the nation, the state, or the municipality can do to aid true learning, without any injustice, it is to be made to do. And the learning which aids doing and the culture which is the product of labor are to be of the most worth.

III

STATE UNIVERSITIES

ONE who has been privileged to sustain living relations with the educational work of the East and the West of our country soon realizes that the educational atmosphere of each section has qualities which are peculiar to it, and soon sees that the points of view, the habits of thought, and the ways of going about things east and west of the Alleghanies are quite distinct. Educationally the East is given to wisdom, is deliberate, has quite as much resistive power as aggressiveness, is inclined to be suspicious, and refuses to initiate a movement until it thinks it sees clearly what the end will be. The West is hearty and impulsive, plunges into whatever engages its interest, relies upon its resourcefulness, and worries very little about results. The results are never disappointing. If the outcome is good much is made of it; if not, the movement is lightly regarded, for by that time the mind is fully occupied with other things. The Westerners are easier travelers, better "mixers," and more enthusiastic and aggressive searchers for information than the Easterners. An eastern schoolman knows much about schoolhouses and appliances, and is reasonably content with what he knows; a western man is never too old or too tired to go to the top or the bottom of a school building, in the hope of finding a new appliance or a fresh suggestion in it. The eastern men may go to educational conferences two or three times a year, in the stern performance of a religious duty; the western men want a convention every week, and seldom lose an opportunity to be in at the start and open a discussion of facts and philosophies at a canter.

Many of the western schoolmen have lived in the East, and although they have been lured by the star of empire, their interest in the East will never abate. More of them go to the Middle and New England states every year, for they will travel, and all the roads lead that way and they know where the good roads are. Practically all of them read the eastern educational periodicals, gaining information, and looking for things worth discussing or proposing at home. One result of all this is that the western men know infinitely more about matters educational in the East than the eastern men do of such matters in the West. Indeed, it is not too much to say that many of the schoolmen in the great states which are now central in the Union are quite as much in touch with matters educational in the East as many of the eastern men are themselves. The converse of all this is not generally true, and it is strikingly untrue so far as an understanding in the East of the growth and the work of western universities is concerned.

Of course, the intellectual activity and the prevalent commercial spirit of the West have combined to produce many concerns which are worthless, some of which should be brought within provisions of the penal code and engage the active attention of the police. The proprietors seek high-sounding names for such establishments, and the public sense of propriety and of justice has not yet reached the point of aiding the worthy by stopping the misappropriation of titles by the unworthy to any such extent as has been well commenced in the East. Yet there are encouraging signs of public interest in the subject, and when it has advanced a few steps further corrective remedies are likely to be applied with a rush.

The West is dotted over with commercial institutions, many of them worthy enough, trying to sustain names which do not fit, and which really curse them. While this is not

at all peculiar to the West, it is true that it is more common there than in the East. May the time speedily come when the common sentiment of the country will make it clear to educational enterprises that it will be to their advantage to discriminate in the use of titles and claim only what they are able to perform, and that it will be quickly to their hurt to fall short of making good their assurances.

There are a score or more of ^{the} denominational colleges in every western state. These were founded by the churches, in the pioneer days, as instruments for denominational up-building. For long years they were the only schools with any pretense to advanced grade in the West; and they are always to be regarded with sympathy and spoken of with respect. Some of them, of which Oberlin (1833), in Ohio; Illinois (Jacksonville, 1829) and Knox (Galesburg, 1837), in Illinois; Beloit (1846), in Wisconsin; Iowa (Grinnell, 1847), in Iowa, and Colorado (Colorado Springs, 1874), in Colorado, are perhaps the best types, have been able to adjust themselves to the new conditions which have been brought about by the filling up of the country and by the educational advance, have been content to do college work well, have gathered considerable endowments, and have become so influential and so much beloved as to be assured of strong and useful futures; and all lovers of learning rejoice with them in the fact. Some of them, with no abatement of the spirit of Christianity, have laid aside the denominational garb in order to attract the support of wider constituencies. But a larger number of the denominational colleges have been unable to cope with or adjust themselves to the educational evolution of recent decades. Some of them are doing work which, in quality and in quantity, is below the grade of good high schools. Their churches are being enjoined, as a Christian duty, to give what they are unable to give to their support, when all that these

Indiana has 12 denom. colls.

schools are doing, and much more, is being better done than they can hope to do it by the ordinary schools and the publicly supported institutions of their states. Of course it will be said that the denominations are unwilling to educate their youth except under denominational supervision; that it is a matter of faith and cannot be departed from. The merits of that subject cannot be discussed here, but it is not too much to say that the logic of events has proved that the inevitable trend of American sentiment is strongly against that position.

The logic of events is abundantly exemplified in the munificent provision for a public high school in every city, village, or sparsely settled township, and particularly in the splendid advance of the state university movement in the West.

There has been no movement undertaken by our democracy so significant and encouraging as that which has resulted in the great state universities of the Central and Western states. The sentiment which supports it is practically universal. No people have ever before carried forward such a movement on any similar scale. In the early days Massachusetts and Connecticut and New York and New Jersey gave substantial aid to Harvard and Yale and Columbia and Princeton, but without any idea of becoming responsible for their permanent support and management. The common thought as to the functions of government touching education would not permit more than state aid and encouragement to a university in the colonial days, or even in the earlier years of the "more perfect Union." The advance of the Republic created the need, and the breaking of the great West opened the way for a new educational order of things. The pioneers built for the future. They were proud to commence new movements and to lay broad foundations. They believed that govern-

ment should stand for the progress as well as for the mere security of the people, and they were only too glad to struggle and sacrifice in the hope that their children would fare better than they.

Out of this came provisions for people's universities in the constitutions of many of the new states, and an actual university supported and managed by every state west of New York and Pennsylvania. Such universities were founded in Indiana in 1820, in Michigan in 1837, in Missouri in 1839, in Iowa in 1847, in Wisconsin in 1848, in Kansas in 1864, in Illinois in 1867, in California in 1868, in Minnesota in 1869, in Nebraska in 1869, in Ohio in 1870, and in Colorado in 1876. And in practically every case a university has developed to a plane not reached by the oldest and strongest institutions of the country a single generation ago, and not attained by more than a bare half dozen now.

In some states the state universities are united with the agricultural and mechanical colleges resulting from the national land grant acts, while in others they are maintained separately. In either case, the common sentiment of the people supports the purpose of the universities to enter every field of scientific research and intellectual activity. Ancient and modern languages and literatures, rhetoric and oratory, history and philosophy, economics and sociology and ethics, pedagogy and psychology, music and sketching and painting, mathematics, the earth and air and water and sky and life sciences, medicine and pharmacy and dentistry, law in every phase of the science, agriculture and horticulture, the raising of wheat and corn as well as of animals, dairying and home-making, architecture, civil engineering, electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, municipal and sanitary engineering, railway engineering, mining engineering, library science, physical train-

chemical engineering

ing, and every other interest which challenges thorough study are grouped in separate colleges, schools, or departments, with the necessary libraries and laboratories and farms and shops for the most practical and effective work.*

In all these universities there is a complete military organization in charge of a United States army officer, and no one of them is without a military band and an orchestra, a choral society and glee clubs and quartettes, an athletic field and "teams" without number, social and literary clubs, Greek letter fraternities galore, men and women's Christian associations, and all the other acquisitions of modern university life.

The relations between the state universities and the public high schools are direct and close. The universities receive students upon examination, but they also have a system of accrediting high schools which is peculiar to the West. The universities inspect the high schools — the courses of work and the teaching — by faculty committees, or, now, more commonly by an officer called the high school visitor; and, upon approval, receive their graduates without examination. This aids the high school, for it is held to reflect upon one if it is not upon the accredited list of the university. The eastern universities are inclined to scoff at this, but it will be surprising if they are not doing the same thing before many years. Of course some students get into the universities who cannot sustain themselves, but it is better so than it is to keep students out of college who want to go and who cannot fit into the precise grooves of an examination set by persons knowing little of their work and nothing of their resources.

All classes are represented in the great student bodies of the state universities, but the middle class predominates overwhelmingly. There are some who find it necessary

to "work their way," and if they do it and sustain themselves in their university work they uniformly gain the respect they deserve for it. There is no discussion of the merits of co-education, and no isolated woman's college in the university group. Young men and young women work side by side in classrooms and laboratories, they attend social gatherings in company, with little in the way of regulations which is not self-imposed, and with the very best results. Comradeship between faculty and students is free and helpful to both. Life is free and genuine and natural and earnest, the sentiment of the campus is wholesome, the work is severe, and the semester examinations are inexorable.

An eastern man is likely to inquire about the part which politics plays in the administration of the state universities. It plays no part. There is no state college or university of any standing that is not wholly free from political or other domination, and nothing is clearer than that the people intend to have it so.

The higher institutions of learning in the West have come to know very well that the advance of each strengthens all. Relations are cordial, and all seem to be working effectually together to stimulate the secondary schools and exert a decisive and ennobling influence upon the life of the people. The age is one which will be distinguished by the diffusion of the higher learning, by its much wider applications to the daily life and institutions of the people; and it may be confidently believed that time will show abundantly that the people of the Central and Western states have borne a notable and an honorable part to that great end.

IV

THE UNIVERSITY PRESIDENCY

THE responsible authorities in the management of a university are the trustees, the president, and the faculty. Legal enactments settle in some measure the exact functions of each, but common knowledge of the kinds of government which succeed when much property and many interests are involved, as well as the imperative necessities of the particular situation, have gone much further to establish the governmental procedure in the university. While the immediate purpose is to exploit the functions and powers of the university president, some reference, necessarily brief, must be made to the prerogatives and duties of the trustees and faculty.

A vital principle in all government involving many cares and interests is tersely expressed in the statement that bodies legislate and individuals execute. It goes without saying that legislation must be by a body which is both morally responsible and legally competent, and common observation proves that it must concern a real situation, to be of any real worth. If it involves special knowledge, it must be by men who have the knowledge or who will respect the opinions of others who have.

The trustees of a university are charged by law, either statutory or judge-made, or by widely acknowledged usage, with that general oversight and that legislative direction which will make sure of the true execution of the trust. They are to secure revenues and control expenditures. They are to prevent waste and assure results. They are never to forget that they represent the people who

created and who maintain the university. They are not to represent these people as a tombstone might — but as living men may. They are to do the things their principals would assuredly do, if in their places, to enlarge the advantage to the *cestui que trust*. This is a heavy burden. It must be assumed that it is given to picked men who are especially able to bear it; who would not give their time to it for mere money compensation, but are happy in doing it for the sake of promoting the best and noblest things.

The trustees do not live upon the campus, and they are not assumed to be professional educationists. Their judgment is likely to be quite as good upon the relations of the work to the public interests, and as to what the institution should do to fulfill its mission, as that of any expert would be. To get done what they want done, they must enact directions and appoint competent agents. The individual trustee has no power of supervision or direction not given to him by the recorded action of the board. What they do is to be done in session after the modification of individual opinions through joint discussion. It must be reduced to exact form and stand in a permanent record. Trustees make a mess of it when they usurp executive functions, and they sow dragons' teeth when they intrigue with a teacher, or hunt a job for a patriot who thinks he is in need of it. They are bound to regard expert opinion and to appoint agents who can render more expert services than any others who can be procured. They are to keep the experts sane, on the earth, in touch with the world, as it were. They are to sustain agents and help them to succeed, and they are to remove agents who are not successful. From a point of view remote enough and high enough, they are to inspect the whole field. They are bound to be familiar with all that the institution is doing. They are to be alert in keeping the whole organization

free from whatever may corrupt, and up to the very top notch of efficient public service. There is too much money involved to permit of foolishness, too high interests at stake to allow of vacillation and uncertainty. Under a responsibility that is unceasing and unrelenting they must learn the truth and never hesitate to act. And they must find their abundant reward, not in any material return to themselves, but in the splendid fact that the great aggregation of land and structure and equipment, of great teachers and aspiring students, of sacred memories and precious hopes and potential possibilities, is doing the work of God and man in the most perfect way and in the largest measure which their knowledge and experience, their entire freedom, and their combined energy can devise.

The business of university faculties is teaching. It is not legislation, and it is not administration — certainly not beyond the absolute necessities. There is just complaint because the necessities of administration take much time from teaching. It lessens the most expert and essential work which the world is doing. It seldom enlarges opportunity or enhances reputation. It is true that teachers have great fun legislating, but it is not quite certain that, outside of their specialties, they will ever come to conclusions, or that, if they do, their conclusions will stand. The main advantage of it is the relaxation and dissipation they get out of it. That is great. And, in a way, it may be as necessary as it is great. Of course teachers could not endure it if they were always to conduct themselves out of the classroom as they do in it. Perhaps others would also have difficulty in enduring it. They are given to disorderliness and argumentation beyond any other class who stands so thoroughly for doing things in regular order. It is not strange. It is the inevitable reaction, — what some of them would call the *psychological antithesis*. Nor is it to be

repressed or regretted, for it adds to the effectiveness and attractiveness of the most effective and attractive people in the world. All this is often particularly true of the past masters in the art. No wonder that Professor North, who taught Greek for sixty years at Hamilton College, — “Old Greek,” as many generations of students fondly called him, — wrote in his diary that it would have to be cut in the granite of his tombstone that he “died of faculty meetings,” for he was sure that some day he would drop off before one would come to an end.

University policies are not to be settled by majority vote. They are to be determined by expert opinion. The very fact of extreme expertness in one direction is as likely as not to imply lack of it in other directions. Experts are no more successful than other people in settling things outside of their zone of expertness. Within that they are to have their way so long as they sustain themselves and the money holds out. But the resources are not to be equally divided. University rivalries are not to be adjusted by treaties between the rivals. More of university success depends upon keeping unimportant things from being done in a mistaken way than in developing useful policies and pursuing them in the correct way. Department experts are to determine department policies, college experts college policies, and university experts university policies.

What the President of the United States is to the federal Congress, the president of the university is to the board of trustees. It has not long been so, because American universities are recent creations. When colleges were small, when the care of their property was no task, when all of a college were of one sect and theology was the main if not the only purpose, when there was but one course of study and the instruction was only bookish and catechetical, — administration was no problem at all. There was nothing

to put a strain upon the ship. Even though there was no specific responsibility and no delegation of special functions with immediate accountability, possessions did not go to waste, frauds did not creep in, and injustice and paralysis did not ensue. It may easily be so now in the smaller colleges; it cannot be so in the great universities. The attendance of thousands of students, the enlargement of wealth and of the number of students who go to college without any very definite aim, the admission of women, the more luxurious and complex life, the greater need of just and forceful guidance of students, the multiplication of departments, the substitution of the laboratory for the book, the new and numberless processes, the care of millions of property and the handling of very large amounts of money, and the continual and complete meeting of all the responsibilities which this great aggregation of materials and of moral and industrial power owes to the public, have slowly but logically, and as a matter of course, developed the modern university presidency. It is the centralized and responsible headship of a balanced administrative organization, with specialized functions running out to all of the innumerable cares and activities of the great institution. It is the essential office which holds the right of leadership, which has the responsibility of initiative, which is chargeable with full information and held to be endowed with sound discretion, which may act decisively and immediately to conserve every interest and promote every purpose for which the university was established.

It may be well to specify and illustrate. Conditions are not wholly ideal in a university. Men and women not altogether ripe for translation have to be dealt with. Real conditions, often unprecedented, have to be met. Not only effectiveness within, but decent and helpful relations with neighbors, constituents, and the world are to be as-

sured. Some authority must be able to do things at once, and some word must often be spoken to or for the university community. When spoken, it must be a free word, uttered out of an ample right to speak.

An American university may be possessed of property worth from three to fifty millions of dollars. This is in lands and buildings and appliances and securities. These things may be legislated about, but that is not the care of them. To keep them from spoliation and make the most of them, there must be expert care through a competent department, but in harmonious relations with an ever present power which has the right and responsibility of declaring and doing things.

The very life of the institution depends upon eliminating weak and unproductive teachers, and upon reinforcing the teaching body with the very best in the world. Unless there is scientific aggressiveness in the search of new knowledge some very serious claims must be abandoned and some attitudes completely changed. No board ever got rid of a teacher or an investigator — no matter how weak or absurd — except for immorality known to the public. The reason why a board cannot deal with such a matter is the lack of individual confidence about what to do and of individual responsibility for doing nothing. But, with three or four hundred in the faculty, the need of attention to this vital matter is always present. No board knows where new men of first quality are to be found; no board can conduct the negotiations for them, or fit them into an harmonious and effective whole. The man who is fitted for this great burden, and who puts his conscience up against his responsibility, can hardly be expected to tolerate the opposition of an unsubstantial sentiment which would protect a teacher at all hazards, or the more subtle combination of selfish influences which puts personal over and

above public interests when the upbuilding of a university is the task in hand.

Not only must the teaching staff be developed, — the work must be organized. It must develop a following, connect with the circumstances and purposes of a constituency, and lead as well as it can up to the peaks of knowledge. It is not necessary that all universities cover the same lines of work or have the same standards. It is not imperative that all have the same courses, or courses of the same length. It *is* necessary that all serve and uplift *their* people. But how? A master of literature will say through classical training and literary style; a scientist will say through laboratories; a political economist will say through history and figures and logic; an engineer will say through roads and bridges and knowledge of materials, and the generation and transmission of power, and skill at construction; and a professional man will say through building up professional schools, providing no mistake be made about the particular kind of school. Some one of wide experience, having a scholar's training and sympathies, possessed of a judicial temperament and with decisiveness as well, must have the responsibility and the initiative of distributing resources justly as between the multifarious interests and binding them all into an harmonious and effective whole. Difficult as that is, it is not the heaviest burden of university leadership. Ideals must be upheld and made attractive; they must be sane ideals which appeal to real men, — and not only to old men, but to young men. There must be no mistaking of dyspepsia for principle, no assumption that character grows only when powers fail; but a rational philosophy of life by which men may live as well as die. Nor is this all. There must be forehandedness. Some one must be charged with the responsibility of peering into the future and leading

forward. New and yet more difficult roads must be broken out. Some one in position to do it must be active in initiating things. He must see what will go — and, quite as clearly, what will not go. Subtle but fallacious logic — and a vast deal of it — must be resisted, greed combated, conceits punctured, resources augmented, influences enlarged, forces marshaled for practical undertakings, and the whole enterprise made to give a steadily increasing service to the industrial, professional, political, and moral interests of a whole people.

Then there is the management and guidance of students. One may as well complain because this country is a democracy as to repine because the sons and daughters of the masses want to go to college. There is no ground for regret in the fact that our universities are not just like some universities over the seas. We have much to learn from them, and we are likely to learn much. We have quite as much to avoid. It seems too much to expect to work un-American ideas, and perhaps loose habits, out of American students who study in Europe, when they come home. We are different from Europe because of circumstances and political history, because of our spirit and outlook. That is reason enough why our universities are different from theirs.

It is useless to question whether all who come to the higher educational institutions are wise in coming. They *are* coming. The work will have to be broad enough to meet their needs. Nor is it worth while to bewail the fact that all who come are not serious students. Their purposes are good enough and serious enough according to their lights. Their preparation is what has been exacted by the university and provided by the high school. Some of them have to be pulled up and pushed along, but the process often brings out most unexpected results. (Students are not all

angels, but every student is worth being helped by an angel up to an angel's place. The task is upon the people who undertake to manage universities. Students have to be directed in companies but dealt with individually. They may be directed by a rule: when they break the rule they must be dealt with by a man. It must be a man who can stand pat for all that ought to inhere in a university; but such a man will get on best if in addition to being able to stand pat he is able to like boys; he is likely to get on still better if he was once a rather lively boy himself; or, at least, if he is a kind of man for whom a boy with some ginger in him can find it in his heart to have not only considerable respect but some regard and admiration.

This is not saying that college students are to be treated like children. It is not implied that they are to be excused for being ruffians. Quite the contrary is true. They are to be held exactly responsible to law and rule and all well-known standards of decent living. There must be less viciousness in the life of American universities, or they must and ought to suffer seriously for it. It is to be resented and punished far more forcefully than it has been. Students who get into this kind of thing and persist in staying in are to be punished, even to the point of being thrust out, and even though it changes the course of their lives and breaks the hearts of fathers and mothers. The good of all is the overwhelming consideration. A university is to be a university and not something else. Of all institutions it is to stand for character and ideals. The universities are not to be closed and all youth denied their advantages because a few abuse their privileges. The punishment of the bad, if there are any bad, is the protection of all the rest. It is an essential safeguard to safe administration and the wholesome living of the crowd. But is it not better to hold all the boys we can from going to the dogs by

keeping in sympathy and touch with them, than it is to encourage them into deviltry through the coldness or the downright dullness or nervelessness or cowardliness of an administration?

The logic of the situation puts this burden upon the president, or upon one working with singleness of purpose with him. Likely the president cannot deal with all directly, but that is no reason why he should not go as far as he may. He must assume responsibility for management, giving the right turn and inspiration to it. It is essentially an executive function.

So much in reference to routine. The president who only follows routine of course falls short. He is to construct as well as administer. He must initiate measures which will result in larger facilities, in added offerings and enterprises, in searching out new knowledge, in the wider application of principles to work, and not only in the usual but in the better training of men and women for distinct usefulness in life. He is not only to see that plans are within the limits of revenues, that the physical condition of the plant improves, that everything is clean and attractive, that the faculty is scientifically productive, that the instruction is exact and the spirit true; but he is to take the steps which will keep the whole organization moving ahead. He must adopt and promote and give full credit for movements initiated by others when their propositions are safe and practicable, — but he must also be alert in stopping movements which will not go.

Perhaps more important than all, the president is to declare from time to time the best university opinion concerning popular movements and the serious interests of the state. He must connect the university with the life of the multitude, and exert its influence for the quickening and guidance of that public opinion which, as Talleyrand said,

is more powerful than all the monarchs who ever lived or all the laws which were ever declared.

The unity and security of a university can only be assured through accountability to a central office. While every one is to have freedom to do in his own way the thing he is set to do, so long as his way proves to be a good way, the harmony of the whole depends upon the parts fitting together and upon definiteness of responsibility and frequency of accountability. No self-respecting man is going to administer a great office, or an office responsible for great results, and have any doubts about possessing the powers necessary or incident to the performance of his work. He will have enough to think of without having any doubt upon that subject. There need be no fear of his being too much inflated with power. There will be enough to take the conceits out of him and keep him upon the earth. If he cannot exercise the powers of his great office and yet keep steady and sane there is no hope for him, and he will speedily come to official ruin. It is not a matter of uplifting or of inflating a man, but of getting a man who can meet the demands of a great situation.

Of course, no one can realize the hopes which centre in a university presidency without being able to work harmoniously with others. There must be true deference to the opinions of many and scrupulous recognition of the just, though unexpressed, claims of all. But he must never forget that administrative freedom is quite as inviolable as any other freedom, even in a university. He must mark out his official course for himself and bear the responsibility of it without cavil. He must expect to suffer criticism and opposition, even contumely. He cannot expect that the work he has to do will make every one happy. It will discomfit many. Conditions may easily make a mere compromiser of him. If they do, the waves will speedily close

over his official remains. Some choice and magnanimous spirits will help him; but he need entertain no doubt that there will be plenty more on every side to try out the stuff that is in him, and that they will diligently attend to the trying out process until enough occurs to convince them that his wisdom, his rational conception of his task, his love of justice and sense of humor, his constructive planning, his independence, and his fearlessness are sufficient to prove him worthy of as great an opportunity for usefulness and honor as ever comes to any man.

All this calls for a rare man. He ought, in the first place, to be reasonably at peace with mankind and in love with youth. He must have the gift of organizing and the qualities of leadership. He ought to have been trained in the universities, not only for the sake of his own scholarship, but that he may be wholly at home in their routine and imbued with their purposes. He must be moved by public spirit as distinguished from university routine or mere scholarly purpose. He must be a scholar, — but not necessarily in literature or science or moral philosophy. It is quite as well if it is in law, or engineering, or political history. He must be sympathetic with all learning. He can no longer hope to be a scholar in every study. He can hardly hope to administer such a trust or fill such a post without some knowledge of and considerable aptitude for law. His sense of justice must be keen, his power of discrimination quick, his judgment of men and women accurate; his patience and politeness must give no sign of tiring, and the strength of his purpose to accomplish what needs to be done must endure to the very end. Yet he must determine differences and decide things. He must have the power of expression as well as the more substantial attainments. Beyond possessing sense, training, outlook, experience, resistive power, decisiveness, and aggressive-

ness, he ought to be a forceful and graceful writer and at least an acceptable public speaker. In a word, the president of an American university is bound to be not only one of the most profound scholars, but quite as much one of the very great, all around men of his generation.

LIMITS OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM

THE literature bearing on the freedom of teaching in advanced schools is plentiful. The discussion has been heated, but there is no clamor just now. There has been no recent crucifixion without cause. There is no one in the stocks. There is no impending trial. There is no ominous raven on a bust of the goddess of wisdom above the chamber door. Freedom may be discussed with freedom. An academic question may be treated in an academic way.

The development of college and university teaching in America makes a surprising and fascinating story. Looking for the mere statistics bearing upon it, we find none of much service to us before 1870, when the reports of the bureau of education begin to be available. Even in 1870 the classification was much less rigid than it has since become. In that year there were 369 institutions, with 3201 teachers and 54,500 students. In 1908 there were 573 institutions, 24,489 teachers, and 292,760 students. Rigidly excluding all schools of actual secondary grade, all preparatory departments, and all professional schools not associated with a university, but including the advanced technical schools, there were 464 institutions with 21,960 teachers and 265,966 students, — 195,391 men and 70,575 women. In 1880 the income of the colleges and universities was \$2,225,915; in 1890 it was \$10,801,918; in 1900 it was \$26,550,967; and in 1908 \$66,790,924. In 1880 the value of buildings and grounds was \$48,427,875; in 1890 it was \$80,654,520; in 1900 it was \$154,203,031; and in 1908 it was \$300,868,081.

It is not necessary to remind ourselves how little even these figures really express. To gather and expend this money honestly and beneficently has been a task of no ordinary difficulty; but to develop such a great throng of uniformly satisfactory college and university teachers in this brief time has been practically impossible.

In this single generation all of the essential factors of a unique system of university education have developed in America. If it is not better than any other, it is better *for us* than any other. It is within bounds to say that there is no longer need of forcing students into the foreign life which the late President Harper used to lament, in order to give them as scholarly instruction as is provided anywhere in the world.

We will not deny that, upon the whole, our system is different from every other. In this generation the sciences compelled the same recognition as the classics, and forced their methods upon all the rest. They created colleges of their own. The applications of scientific study to the constructive and manufacturing industries came and made other colleges of their own. The higher education of women upon an entire equality with men, and the carrying of liberal learning into numberless phases of the natural activities of women, made the men move around, and forced so much moving that some of the wise men of the East, with the best intentions and the utmost effort, have not yet been able to become quite reconciled to it. The imperative needs of the professions, and of a continually increasing number of professions, have taken up large tracts of university territory because they could not be met outside of the university inclosures. To make it possible, a great and universal system of middle schools, peculiar to the country, had to be established to connect the universities and the elementary schools. And such

a system has been so highly developed that it is doing more for the larger number of students than the colleges did for the smaller number before 1870.

The free right to get what one wants without submitting to so much that he does not want, and the liberalized methods of investigation and instruction, add overwhelming and often unmanageable features to the unfolding character of American universities. The obvious educational advantage, to each college or school, of association with other colleges and schools, and manifest economy, educational and pecuniary, group them about the same campus while they add to the intricacies of life and the difficulties of administration. In a word, the offering of all there is in learning to all who want it and will fit themselves to come and take it, and the applications of the higher learning to every human activity, have become the self-assumed and the measurably accomplished task of American universities.

This would not have been attempted, and it could not have been realized, but for the political philosophy of the country. But the political thinking which inspired the undertaking would never have accomplished it without putting into it two great factors which are essentially unknown to the universities of other lands. One is the board of trustees composed of educational laymen, chosen for their character, their benevolence, and their experience in managing affairs; and the other is the payment of teachers without reference, or often in inverse proportion, to the number of students whom they instruct.

Not many universities in other countries owe their being to private benefactions, or to the efforts of a representative democracy to work out its theories and prove its worth through education. The universities of other nations are expressive of the national intelligence and pro-

gress, of the national experiences and needs, and of the national attitudes and power. Beyond their revenues from fees, they are but meagrely supported by government funds. Their internal organization and administration rest with the educational faculty or the leaders of it; and within the ordinary activities of accepted procedure they are unhampered. The means of expansion are seldom within themselves, however, and the external powers which limit their possibilities are themselves limited by social, religious, political, and pecuniary conditions, which those powers could hardly change if they would, and probably would not change if they could.

No one can fail to note that regularly recurring salary warrants and the absence of a system which automatically rids an institution of teachers who do not teach what is wanted, or in the way wanted, have a very decisive bearing upon the freedom and the expansion of universities. But the direct bearing of the board of trustees upon the life and growth of a university, while no less potential, is not quite so obvious.

An English or German university professor has only amazement at the presence of a lay court of last resort in the government of an American university. He holds it to be a limitation upon university freedom and a desecration of very holy ground. On the contrary, it brings into the affairs of a university a factor which makes for freedom, and particularly for growth. Standing for donors in time past and in time to come, no matter whether the donors be individuals or a state, the trustees come into sympathy with the teaching, and add the factor which gives the institution very complete independence. Ordinarily composed of men or women of representative character, the board of trustees regulates the business affairs of the institution, and holds the confidence of the public

concerning its needs. They are themselves sorely perplexed about its instructional and research work, but after a year or two they realize that they have limitations of their own, and then matters run smoothly enough. The constant presence in university councils of representatives of the external world, to which the institution must look for support of every kind, and of which it must be a part if it is to give back an acceptable intellectual service, doubtless goes further than anything else to explain the wholly unparalleled advance of higher learning in this country during the last generation.

However the matter analyzes, and whatever the explanation, these American universities are the finest illustrations of human power and human reason and human freedom, working together for beneficent ends, which the minds and hearts of men and women have brought about. They pursue their great courses, controlled by both centripetal and centrifugal forces, as freely as a planet revolves about its sun. They exemplify free government in its most refined form because a real university will be free anywhere, and here a university is in the midst of the freest government in the world. They stimulate every human interest and respond to every rational demand. Their very existence is wrapped up in their freedom. They attract munificent gifts of money and affection because they are free to administer them for the enlargement of human efficiency and good will. But their power is in their freedom to resist as well as in their freedom to do. Their moral forces are energized, and their spiritual aims quickened, because they are free enough to resist mere ecclesiasticism. They enrich the rich through intellectual association with the poor, and the poor through the same association with the rich. In their affairs men and women find the places to which they are entitled, and are thrust

out of the places which they lack the moral and intellectual right to hold. The semester examinations are no more inexorable than the sentiment of the campus. Always surrounded by politics in a state of eruption, they easily defy political intrusion, and are expected to refuse to promote any political end. Giving instruction in every study, they try out educational values through processes which are unrelenting and by standards which will not give way. They make their own organization, they administer their own estate, they hold the right of initiative as to every undertaking. They may refuse as well as accept, and they have within themselves the men and women, the powers and the means, of steadily enlarging their reach and of continually enriching their lives and their work. In sane and unselfish hands, guided by scholarship and by moral sense, they grow large because they accord with the prevailing opinions of the Republic, and their very enlargement, as well as their learning, makes for the freedom of the truth.

Happily something occurs now and then to remind us that these universities are very human institutions. They are in the world: the people who are making them great are not yet ripened for translation. Their officers and teachers have been gathered quickly, and opportunity acquired suddenly is often misused. In his inexperience and enthusiasm, particularly in his unfamiliarity with the thinking and the pace of the Mississippi Valley, a young professor from New York might forget that the intellectual capital of the ages may exceed the brief output of a New York, a German, or an English school. And ambition, vaulting ambition, may impel a mere human to overlook the need of time, labor, and the forgetfulness of self by which academic preference may be secured or held when conferred.

Academic freedom rests upon the same principles as political freedom; but it rests upon other principles also. Formal law is an insufficient basis for academic freedom. Mere inclination cannot prevail in a university so much as it may outside of it. The associations of the academic body are freer than those in the civic state. The propriety and the possibility of it come from the clearer understanding of freedom and the surer capacity for it. It rests not upon legal obligation so much as upon generosity; not so much upon possibility and opportunity as upon the subordination of self to the atmosphere of the place and the common good.

Academic freedom is not for the sake of the teacher; it is for the sake of the truth. Scientific truth goes further than civic truth or social truth. The puritan doctrine that he who hears untruth or partial truth, and fails to rebuke it, participates in it, has never prevailed, and ought not to prevail in the civic state or in social life. All of the truth about the mere incidents of life happily does not at all times have to be spoken. Untruth about mere matters of opinion does not always have to be corrected. But the main function of academic freedom is the unlocking of scientific truth. There can be no academic freedom which is opposed to it. Scientific truth invites and stands the last analysis. There can be no compromise about it. Scholarship covets an opposition which reveals misapprehension or gives added significance and strength to the truth. The acceptance of alleged truth without evidence is bad enough in a university, but not quite so bad as the self-interest and conceit which necessarily protect it in the name of academic freedom. Academic freedom which is self-seeking more than truth-seeking is mere license and cannot live in the academic atmosphere. Fortunately, it is governed by a higher law. It is an attribute

of normal lives. One who cannot safely exercise it may not have it; and from one who can exercise it safely it cannot be withheld. It goes with one who not only can appreciate his obligations to a human institution, — to its donors, its officers, its teachers, its students, and its graduates, — but can also appreciate the responsibilities of that institution to the constituency it is bound to serve, and to the world it is bound to enlighten and make better; and it departs from one who is so academically abnormal as really to put his mere liberty of personal movement above the institution which gives him his opportunity and above the truth which he engages to set free.

Universities are very great, and very complex, and very human organizations. They have to care for property, they have to handle much money, and they are obliged to account for what they do in very worldly fashion. They must break out new roads, and they must equip themselves with a great array of educational implements; they must lay hold of rational educational theories, and they must have a superior knowledge of educational values. That has to be done through experts and teachers, for whom universities have to assume responsibility.

The freedom and the accountability have to balance each other, or there can be no harmony and efficiency; and without these there can be no internal enthusiasm and no external confidence and growth. It all depends upon a true educational spirit which enriches itself by giving, and upon a balanced organization which assumes responsibility without limiting educational opportunity.

Our great American universities, above any others in the world, are forced to the necessity of discrimination. Their very lives depend upon it, and their peril is in the lack of men who can discriminate with justice and confidence, and who will not be turned from doing it by falla-

cious theories about freedom. Not only because of their youth, and their rapid growth, and the fixed compensations of their teachers, and their permanent tenures, but because of the universal ambitions and the intellectual traits of the country, they are at all times encompassed with difficult and serious questions; and they cannot hope to meet the expectations and gather the confidence of the country unless individuality is made to respect organization, while organization is moved by the academic spirit and responds to educational opportunity.

There are some spiritual educationists who seem to think that Garfield was assuming to describe a university when he said that a log with Mark Hopkins on one end and a student on the other would make one. He was doing nothing of the kind. His fine imagination was paying a fine compliment to his fine old college president. If there is one in a university who permits such an ideal to beat against the imperative factors of organization, it would be well for himself and perhaps for the rest of the world if he would go out and find a log, impress a student into his experiment, pass his hat for sustenance, and work his ideal out to its beggarly conclusion.

If there are minor disadvantages, they have to go with the superior advantages of organization. The mighty results of coöperative life and effort far outweigh any sweets which the recluse may gather by himself. The intellectual and the moral, the civic and the legal, advance has come through yielding the mere independence of self to the advantage of living together.

The trend of the world is not in the wrong direction. Individualism, the opportunity of selfishness to have its own sweet way, will have to reckon with organization inside, as outside, of universities. Organization protects against want, and associates thinking with fact; it energizes

intellectual productivity, and gives scholarship its real opportunity. The laws of society and of organization will have to prevail. The organization, as well as the individual, has rights, and a university invades no sound principle when it maps out its own course, builds its own character, gets the best it can in scholarship and in teaching, loses no just opportunity to reinforce its strength, holds the good of all above the interest of one, insists upon good citizenship in the democracy of learning, and gives the world the benefit of it.

There are some things about which academic freedom must be apprehensive. Self-seeking must go out at once. Manœuvring for promotion or for pay, combining to control policies, and agitating to limit the freedom of any other officer or teacher in the institution, must lay no claim to academic freedom. Even a little of this is exceedingly repugnant to truth. If one will resort to it he must abide the result without any thought of being a martyr.

The choice of studies in a university is not wholly free. Certain studies are required to be taken before others may be. What shall be required is often a matter of opinion and it may be a means of abuse. It might happen that the weaker a teacher is the more preference he must have in the requirements. There are tariffs in university schedules as well as schedules in government tariffs. The arranging of schedules for favor or for monopoly is no more within academic policy than within the political policy of the country. If one will indulge in it he must take his academic life in his hand and abide the issue.

Sensationalism has no rights of any kind in a university. Yet we must have learned that it is not to be kept out by the saying. Novelty of theme or of statement, suited to newspaper exploitation and to personal notoriety, is as repugnant to the traditions, the philosophic basis, the

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moral sense, and the freedom of a university, as illiteracy is a menace to government in a democratic state, or as greed is repugnant to fellowship in a philanthropic guild. One cannot be allowed to propagate his vagaries at the expense, upon the time, and in the name, of a university that would like to be thought prudent and rational. If one wants to be a professor of myths and ghosts, he ought to go out in the woods and pursue his inquiries on his own time and in the most appropriate place. Everything lacking complete intellectual sanity and sincerity is not only without the bounds of the academic privilege, but is a menace to academic freedom.

It has transpired in academic experience that one has had credit for the work which another has done, or has transferred the responsibility for his own shortcomings. This may happen without wrongful intent, through subtle reasoning, or lack of reasoning, upon a subject about which one's mind is exclusive and intense. It is surely outlawed in a university, and it must be settled by the ordinary processes and standards of intellectual integrity.

The processes of learning must operate freely, but they cannot extend to every field of inquiry in one institution. There is no academic right to force an institution into undertakings it cannot afford, or to extend processes once started to lengths which are extravagant in time and money, and unpromising in result. And there is no actual hardship about it, because experience shows that the man and the institution who gratify inclinations without reference to the material cost, are less productive in new scientific truth than those who are compelled to square their work with the usual limitations upon human conduct.

There is less difficulty about all this in the field of the physical sciences than of the mental sciences. A university which would call back an investigator who is any-

where in the region of a grain of new truth in nature, would cease to be a university, and the moment it was done the doors of every university in the world would swing wide open to that investigator. But when we come to the philosophical sciences, to matters of opinion, we shall have to say that, while the right of individual theory and expression is free, the right of place, and of association, and of time, and of opportunity, is not without its very decisive limitations.

There is scarcely an institution of higher learning in this country in which the Christian religion is not a matter both of philosophy and of feeling. It is expressed in the life and functions of the institutions. Would the denunciation of Christianity and the propagation of some other religion be within the academic privilege in an institution founded upon, and nurtured by, Christianity? There are differing philosophical attitudes, and different understandings of history, concerning Christianity. Would an interpretation of history and a theory of religion consonant with Protestantism be within the academic privilege at the Catholic University at Washington, and would such interpretation and such theory be without such privilege at Yale?

All of our higher institutions are chartered by, and many of them are supported by, a democratic state. Would the contention that democracy is a vicious system, or that all government is an improper constraint upon the governed, be within the rights of free teaching in one of these institutions? May theory pull down the roof that shelters it? May a mere doctrinaire overturn the fundamental political philosophy which has been worked out in this country by hard thinking, by consecration, and by blood?

Even Germany does not allow that; and it may well be doubted whether the United States will ever go, or ought

to go, as far as Germany does in reference to what teachers teach and what students do in the name of "scholarship," and without reference to the balanced character and moral fibre which we hold to be vital to the genuineness and the worth of scholarship.

There is little difficulty about what shall be taught in the schools, or the freedom with which it shall be taught, until we come to topics which, for the time being, are subjects of party warfare. And there is no ground for difficulty about those if teachers observe the reasonable proprieties of the teacher's office. That office is not that of the advocate. It is not that of the agitator. It is not that of the executor. It is not that of the legislator. It certainly is not that of the dictator. It is that of the judge. Its function is to ascertain and enlarge and expound the truth. It must do that judicially. It may be well to observe that there is no other judicial power in the organization of a university than what inheres in the essential attributes of its officers and teachers. The university has the powers of determination, and expression, and propagation, and expansion, wholly within itself. Beyond all other human institutions the American university is without limitations. There is no court to say that any educational policy of the corporation is in conflict with the Constitution, and therefore void and of no effect. And we are easily able to "construe" all formal words that relate to education in ways which easily paralyze the profane minds which are not acclimated to the atmosphere of the universities.

Upon what may be called "live questions" we are dependent upon the judicial sense, the good breeding, the common sense, the sense of the proprieties, the sense of humor, of the teacher. Happily, he fails us in only one case in a thousand. In the exceptional instance the sense of others comes to his rescue. There is no limitation what-

ever upon the sincere effort of such a one to ascertain the truth or to express his conclusions as to what is the truth. The intelligence of the country would sharply resent any interference with such effort or such expression within the well-understood conventionalities of the professorial office.

But as there are conventionalities which one must observe in order to be a judge, so there are those which one must observe in order to be a teacher, certainly in order to be a university professor. For common example, a professor of economics may believe in international commercial freedom of trade. It is a mere matter of opinion. He has the clear right to express his opinions; but surely he has no right to enforce them upon students without telling them of the objections and the arguments upon the other side. Indeed, an intellectually honest man in such a situation will be specially careful to elucidate all the contentions of those who believe in protection, because he does not agree with them. One can have no valid objection to a professor being a free trader, or object to his telling students the reasons why. But one has abundant reason for objecting to his hiding from students the arguments which support the policy of protection, and to his enforcing his partisan view against mere youth with the ponderous solemnity and the unfailing certainty of a military execution.

Again, there are limitations upon the time and place for the proper exercise of the professorial, as of the judicial, office. These limitations aid rather than destroy the mental balance. One who would appear upon the hustings and say, "I am a judge, I have been elected, I have taken the oath of office, I know the law and the right of this matter is thus and so," would divest himself of all right to respect, and his office of all right to prerogative

and power. He must sit upon the bench; he must have jurisdiction; he must have an issue properly joined; he must give the parties in interest their day in court; he must hear the contending views patiently; he must determine only what he has the right to decide, and he must do that without bias, with deliberation, and with dignity, if he expects to give potency and effect to his judicial office. The professor, no less than the judge, is in quest of the right and of the truth. To have result, or to have weight, his quest must be within the domain of his professorship, must be pursued with an open mind, and must be conducted with a scrupulous regard for the amenities of his office. Standing for his science, and for the truth, and for the university which gives him his right and his opportunity, he may reasonably be expected to refrain from irresponsible conduct which, in the judgment of responsible authority, is not compatible with either.

But suppose he is unable to see that it is not the freedom of teaching, but only the misconception of the teacher, which is involved. If he is worthy of a university, the matter will correct itself in time, and more than the requisite time is always allowed; if unworthy, he will assert misuse, and have things said, and invoke sympathy, and perhaps enjoy martyrdom. He will have the newspapers and educational journals largely to himself. The presidents and trustees of colleges and universities will doubtless have enough to answer for, but there is reason to believe that it will be well atoned for by the truths they might have told but considerately kept to themselves. But shall there be no determination? There are those who say, "Let it all go; it is the price we must pay for academic freedom." The price may be wholly unnecessary, or far too high. May one promulgate as truth mere opinions which are not sustained by the body of his colleagues in this branch of

study? May he proclaim to the public as discovered truth that which is still hidden? May he propagate partisan views and possible untruth in his classroom for all time and without hindrance? May he employ sensational methods to attract attention? May he assume to speak authoritatively upon subjects foreign to his own? May he bring ridicule upon his university by going to the world upon propositions about which he has had no experience? May he outrage the rights and reasonable expectations of students, and subject donors and trustees and colleagues and alumni to humiliation? May he do all this and more, and there be no proper remedy? The sense of the world, even of the academic world, will not assent to it. If honest, he should be given time, and consideration, and perhaps opportunity for a "call" to some other place. There will be some solution. If his intellectual integrity limps, let him have the admonition of the saints and the prayers of the congregation. Paul adjured the Thessalonians that they should "study to be quiet," and a sermon on that text might be preached to him. If nothing else avails, the sound discretion of the board of trustees should be exercised.

Our democracy is bringing out a type of university peculiar to the country. There can be no university without scientific teaching. There can be no great university without teaching that is scholarly, free, and aggressive. But there will never be a university strongly sustained in this country in which balanced sense does not combat unscientific teaching.

And we may safely go further and say that an American university must be the home of other things than mere scientific research. An American university will not be projected in a groove; it will not be based upon a single idea; it will not consent to serve a single interest. It will

have to give free play to the political philosophy of the nation. It will have to stand for character as well as scholarship. It will have to be the conscience as well as the brains of its constituent factors. Opposing points of view are vital to the unlocking of the *whole* truth, and opposing intellectual forces will have to enter into the training in moral sense, and manliness and womanliness, which the Republic claims for her college youth. There is more danger to the future of some American universities through the fettering of administrative than of academic freedom. And there will never be a representative American university, with virile and growing power in it, where the forces which are essential to self-expansion and to its representative character are not all present, are not held in common respect, and do not balance one another in rational equilibrium.

Those forces are the public, the donors, the trustees, the president, the teachers, the students, and the alumni. Each is to have its independence. Each is to be aggressive. None is to trench upon the independence of any other. Each is to regard the fundamental principles and the imperative limitations of coöperative and organized effectiveness. There is no cause for conflict which is not alien to a university, and which in an institution worthy of the name will not in due time and by natural processes be pushed into its subordinate and impotent place or forced out of the fellowship. In a university, as nowhere else, selfishness defeats its own ends. Generosity and truth fit together, and where they join forces learning will be uplifted, and multitudes of men and women will gather about its home.

The freedom of American sentiment, the history and traditions, the temperament and ambitions, the moral fibre and sense of humor, the indifference to hurts and confi-

dence in the future, the feeling of common proprietorship and the exactions of common sense, are all mighty forces in the evolution of a university which can endure in the United States.

President Hyde, of Bowdoin, in one of the best magazine articles to be found in the literature on this subject, sounds one note that seems discordant. Speaking of the donor, he says, "He may give or he may not give. After he has given he has no rights." One can hardly think that he meant to say that a man with millions, which he can never use except by giving, is quite as free not to give as he is to give; and after one has given, his rights to the realization of his expectations are surely as fixed as law and as sacred as honor can make them. Doubtless the intent was to say that we may accept or we may not accept. A university will not accept an absurd bequest, and it is powerless to accept an unconscionable one. But obviously the best practical realization of a donor's thought is vital in a country where universities have grown out of beneficence, in a way and in a measure wholly new to educational history in the world.

The teacher who seeks and uplifts the truth will have in this country a measure of freedom for the accomplishment of his end larger than that of any other country. If he cannot do it in one place, there will be plenty of other places where he may. If one man opposes him, there will be plenty more to give him a helping hand. The measure of his support will be in very close proportion to the sincerity of his purpose and the intellectual sanity and integrity of his effort. But we can accept no theory concerning the relations, no rule concerning the treatment of a teacher, which does not make him a well-rounded, independent, manly, attractive character, who asks no special privilege and avoids no ordinary obligation.

The just freedom of the student is as sacred as that of any one else in the university. Like all others, he is responsible to law and order. If he violates the penal code he should suffer its penalties. If he dishonors the institution, he should be excluded from it. The modern enlargement of his freedom has made him a better and a stronger character than he used to be. In his quest for learning he is just as free as the teacher. The freedom of the student is often the main assurance of the virility and balance of the teaching. He must know that somewhere in the institution there is a court of last resort that will give him justice, no matter who is involved.

And any course which would repress the free word of the alumni in the affairs of a university would certainly be a fatuous one. Of course, they may not have thrown off their student feelings or departed altogether from the student point of view, but their word may be no worse on that account; and whether it is or not, the heartbeats of the great organization will quicken a little when the word of the "old grads" is spoken.

If the guardianship of law, through the protection of powers and the enforcement of limitations by the judiciary, is the greatest contribution of America to the science of politics, then the guardianship of truth in every branch of human study, through the amplitude of powers, the balance of forces, the freedom of procedure, and the limitations upon mere human inclinations, in American universities, may yet prove to be the greatest gift which America will make to world education.

There are no limitations upon learning in the United States. But there will never cease to be limitations upon men and women who are promoting learning. Limitations are what earnest men need and what great men impose upon themselves. University courtesy may be a hindrance

to the truth and a curse to teaching. When academic freedom is permitted to further the merely human inclinations, it is more than likely to thwart the interests of learning. The truth will have to be unlocked and transmitted through diligence, and patience, and self-abnegation, and love of men, and love of the truth; and the compensations for the service will have to be in the gold coin of heaven.

VI

CO-EDUCATION

It can hardly be denied that the policy of educating boys and girls, young men and young women, and grown men and women together, is overwhelmingly popular in America.

In the elementary schools it is practically universal and excites no comment. It is true that there are rare exceptions to this in two or three eastern cities, due to accidental conditions, such as the location or structure of school-houses, or possibly they may be the survivals of the feeble beginnings in the public school system, when there was doubt about the public education of boys and certainty that it was not proper for the public to educate girls at all.

Practically the same conditions prevail as to the public secondary schools. Here, too, the exceptions seem to be due to special circumstances, such as the survival of primitive efforts, or dense population and public convenience, or the opening of manual training or other schools in which but one sex would be mainly interested, and have but little bearing upon the broad question of the wisdom of co-education.

In the higher institutions the exceptions are much more numerous, but comprise considerably less than half of the whole number.

In 1870 the men's colleges comprised 69.3 per cent of the whole number for men and for men and women together; in 1880 they had fallen to 48.7 per cent; in 1890 to 34.5 per cent; in 1900 to 29 per cent.

Allusion has been made to early conditions which stood

in the way of girls in the early primary and then in the early secondary schools. Democracy triumphed over those conditions long ago. Similar and even more stubborn obstacles stood in the way of collegiate training for women. The common thought of the whole world was against it. The number of colleges exclusively for men is accounted for by the fact that they were established before there was any serious thought of giving college privileges to women at all. The decline in the relative number of men's colleges is due in some part to the admission of women to the older institutions, but in larger part to the founding of new institutions for both in the newer and freer states. Democracy has broken through tenacious conditions in the East; she has had her free way in the West.

The education of the mass has not been and is not yet a world policy. Wherever it has come to be a national policy it has been made so by the political power of the common people. This is none the less true when it has been grudgingly conceded by an autocratic government or an aristocracy of wealth, because of the apprehension of danger from the ignorant crowd. The power of woman was not recognized as early as that of man, and opportunities, from the lowest to the highest, for her enlightenment have lagged behind those for man.

The reasons for the historic evolution of the schools are obvious enough. In the long years while physical force fixed the boundaries and settled the course of empires and whole peoples blindly submitted to the rule of one man or of a few men, and the right of absolutism descended by inheritance, there was reason enough why the mass should not be trained to anything save effectiveness in battle, and why even the intellectual quickening which might come out of that poor privilege should be denied to women. It was natural enough that such conditions should make

woman the mere supporter and subordinate, the toy and task-bearer of man. It was logical and convenient enough to continue and establish in the law of the land the subordinate status which these conditions had given her even after legislative assemblages came to be a necessity with princes, and the more or less comfortable fashion of having laws of some kind forced its way upon the society of the polite.

Our English forefathers, from whom we derived the sources of our law, fixed the status of woman in their law, and so in ours, in a way which retarded the development of her rights in this country. It is comforting to know that the world was relative then as now, and that they had advanced even further than the forefathers of other peoples at the time when English law began to form. How far they had advanced is seen from the assurance in the Magna Charta which was wrung from the king "in the meadow called Runingmede," that "a widow may remain in the mansion of her husband forty days after his death," and that "no widow shall be destrained to marry herself so long as she has a mind to live without a husband, but she shall give security that she will not marry without our consent." If the men looked after the women in such matters as marriage and property, it is interesting to note that they looked after themselves quite as well, for they also made King John promise "that no man shall be taken or imprisoned upon the appeal of a woman for the death of any other than her husband."

About the only right our foremothers had was the right to live and be our foremothers. Indeed, the law knew nothing of them beyond keeping their marriage within the control of the king, or the lord of the manor, until they took the step which conferred upon us the high privilege of being here. After that if by any chance they had personal

property, it became the husband's absolutely. So with real estate; he could alienate it by deed or by will. Man and wife were in no sense equal before the law. Their lives were legally merged in one, but the one was not a new creation: the one remained the life of the man. And the law made him about as troublesome to her after he was dead as when he was alive. If he left any property when he died she could claim the income of one third of it, and no more, during the ordinarily brief time while she remained his widow. If she had brought the property to him when she married him, or if they had accumulated it together, it made no difference. If he failed to sell it or give it away in his lifetime, or neglected to dispose of it by will, the law came in at his death and considerably corrected his oversight in his interest. She could not make a will at all. He could give or will *her* property to *his* relatives. Her services and earnings were his. She had no right of control over the children, except in subordination to him; the income of their labor, as well as of their mother's, was his. He had the right to chastise not only them, but their mother as well. Often the man was so sane that he did not think of going to the limits of this insane law; and sometimes the woman was so strong that he considerably waived his technical right for reasons which were both obvious and conclusive.

So long as all this could persist, no one, not even woman herself, could think of the education of woman. And it did persist until democracy, without chart or plan or understanding of what the end would be, merely obeying the conscience and using the force of the mass, bore down the unbroken traditions of a thousand years. Our often deprecated legislating habit is entitled to the credit of it. The statutes of our many states, a little here and a little there, copying and advancing upon one another, have made the

legal rights of woman about the same as those of man. Where not fully equal they will yet be made so.

No one can doubt the cause of this, for wherever democracy has had any development in the world, even under autocratic or aristocratic forms, there the rights of women have been enlarged. The opportunity has been so much larger and the advance so much stronger in America than in any other land that we have been conspicuous in this world movement; but the movement is on all over the world. It is one of the great strides to the high destiny of the race. Ill-advised selfishness was able to keep the mass in ignorance of natural rights through long, long years, but the dawn of a glorious day came at last, and the sun of promise is now well up in the heavens.

Naturally there has been some illogical reasoning, some irrational misconceptions about it all. Confusion about personal rights and public duties has arisen. Because a woman has the right and should have the opportunity to make the most of herself it does not follow that she should serve in the army or the jury box. It would be a brutal view that because she should have the same opportunities as man for moral and intellectual advancement, she should be made to stand while a man sits in a street car, or in any other way bear a man's part in public places. The opening of the advanced schools to woman has nothing to do with imposing the franchise upon her.

Woman is by her very nature fitted for certain functions and man for certain other functions in the social economy. Each class of functions and the inherent rights of each sex claim as a right the best that the schools can give. But it does not follow that each is to bear the same burden. The essence of government is protection. Voting, serving in the legislature, is sharing in government. It is a burden, not a right. When it comes to bearing burdens, man is to do

what he can do best and woman what she can do best. Man is the natural protector, the natural voter. Physiological and social considerations come in. Because men do not always vote as safely as they ought, it does not follow that women would do it any better. There is some reason for fear that they might not do it as well. Because a few men and a few women want to change the political order of things, and possibly the natural order of things, it by no means follows that it should be done. When the majority of the most substantial women want to take up the burden of managing government, the majority of the men will doubtless be willing. It is a matter of expediency, and if that time ever comes the men may agree to it.

But natural rights are not to depend even upon majorities. They are to inhere in every one and be enforceable by every one regardless of sex. Participation in government is not necessary in order that woman may secure her rights. Sufficient proof of this is found in the fact that the widest range of civic and political rights conferred upon woman in all the world, or in all time, has been given in this country, not by princes, or by judges, but by the plain, common, blundering men. But they do not always blunder. Acting in the mass, and after discussion, they do not often blunder. They have not blundered in this matter, for in the social economy women must bear responsibilities quite as important to the common good, and claiming quite as high an order of moral and intellectual aptitude, as the burden of protection against the external and internal enemies of the social order which logically falls upon men.

Because in the economy of our social and political life woman must necessarily have the same educational rights as man, co-education has become the overwhelming educational policy of the country. Those rights can be completely secured in no other way. It may not be necessary,

that men and women shall study the same things or recite in the same classes, but they must have the right to do so. Whether women will take the right is not to be decided for them by men. They are to decide it for themselves. Conditions and influences will aid the decision by giving rewards when it is wise, and inflicting failures when it is mistaken. Private or local institutions may appeal to a class and find constituents. No harm results. But the great universities, even those upon endowment foundations, are not private or local institutions. Their own wise course has taken them out of that list. Public institutions, either those supported by public moneys, or which have become public by reason of long life, wide constituencies, and splendid public service, cannot be at odds with the accepted political theories and the common educational policy of the country.

The extent to which provision for popular education, primary, secondary, and higher, has followed closely upon self-confidence in democratic life is an interesting study. The way in which educational equality has accompanied the extension of political rights to women is no less interesting. A hundred years ago such discussion as there was concerning the education of girls related not to the colleges, but to the elementary schools. The Massachusetts town which is now the seat of one of the foremost woman's colleges in the country voted in town meeting that it would not be proper to use public moneys to give schooling to girls. In Boston girls were not admitted to the public schools at all until 1789, and for only half time until 1828. The first high schools were opened before the public was accustomed to anything beyond the rudiments for girls, and were for boys alone. When a high school was opened for girls they came in such numbers that the mayor was simply paralyzed and closed the school in despair. There

was nothing strange about this halting of thought over the education of women. It took time to become accustomed to the idea. But the idea had to prevail. In the larger cities provision was first made for separate secondary schools ; when schools were opened in the newer parts of these growing cities they were for both sexes. It was so in the newer towns of the older states, and universally so in the newer states.

Harvard College was founded before the time when the dandies at the court of Charles II thought the women were sufficiently educated if they could spell out the recipes for puddings and pies, and all of the earlier American colleges started before Mrs. John Adams wrote: "Female education in the *best families* goes no further than writing and arithmetic, and in some few rare instances music and dancing." Of course those colleges were for men alone. And for men alone they long continued. But the logic of events created a demand for college privileges for women which must be met. It was met in four ways: (*a*) By establishing colleges exclusively for women, (*b*) by opening new institutions with equal rights for both sexes, (*c*) by admitting women to men's colleges on equal terms, and (*d*) by setting up annexes or independent women's colleges with some form of organic union with the larger universities.

Some of the women's colleges were the outgrowth of seminaries for women established to prepare them for teaching, or to prepare them for polite society, before there was any thought of real college work for women. Some have been established at a later day to meet a definite preference. Doubtless it would be distinctly asserted by all the women's colleges that they are intended to meet the ideas of people who do not want their daughters educated in association with men, and prefer that they shall have an education of a different kind, or with very different

shadings from that which men would have at all. It is a matter of preference. Sometimes it is a matter of convenience. Often it is a matter of daughters. In any case it is all right. The work is substantial. Much good and no harm results. No one resents the exclusiveness. There is nothing there that any man wants which he cannot get easily elsewhere, unless it is one of the daughters, and he gets her if he ought to have her.

The concessions which the larger universities, accustomed to the old ways, have made to women are all that could have been expected. They are more than have been made by the universities in other lands. They are proof of the influence of democratic society and of the irresistible impulse for educational equality in America. Whether the arrangement will long continue, or will go further, whether some universities will permanently remain for men and some others for women, may well be a subject of conjecture.

There are a number of institutions of the Roman Catholic Church which admit only men for reasons peculiar to the tenets of that denomination. But by all odds the greater number of colleges and universities, save these, which were founded in the last generation, afford equal privileges for each sex. Leaving out the institutions of the Roman Catholic Church, and a very few other denominational institutions started very early, it is difficult to find an institution of college or university grade west of the Alleghanies which is not co-educational.

Higher learning in America will always owe much to the different religious denominations for the innumerable colleges which they placed all over the public domain while American institutional life was really getting upon its feet. Many of them were not more than high schools; and some have remained such. But their number was large and

their purposes high, and they gathered up the best they could find in the pioneer days for the higher intellectual and spiritual life. Practically all of them were co-educational.

With full appreciation of all this, and with no less appreciation of what private munificence has done for higher learning through a small number of conspicuous new foundations, it may well be said that by all odds the most important factor in the enlargement of college and university work in America has been the state universities and the institutions founded upon the national land grant acts. They are all co-educational. Institutions supported by public moneys could not logically discriminate between citizens, in educational privileges at least. They came at the rise of the tide in public sentiment concerning the natural rights of woman, and there was no occasion to discriminate against her. Indeed, the great West would not permit it. Tax-supported colleges and universities, with the best that the common means could provide, and equal privileges for all, were the natural and inevitable response to that aggressive democratic sentiment which prevails everywhere beyond the Alleghanies.

Too many in the East know little of the strength or the import of this mighty manifestation of the common impulse of really democratic society towards the higher learning. It is not a heedless impulse. Equality of opportunity is the very gist of it. Fullness of information and freedom of thought are the very soul and spirit of it. Work which bears upon the vocations of the people and a philosophy which squares with life are the sum and substance of it. It was born of mistrust of the ideals and the philosophy of private institutions, and it has already had a decisive influence in recasting universities established upon traditional lines.

The growth of these institutions is not the least remark-

able development of our wonderful country and our marvelous times. If anything were needed to settle and clinch the matter of absolute educational equality in America, and to disprove the dangers or difficulties of co-education, this great movement did it. There is nothing like a practical demonstration to explode the theories of people who know so much that is not so, of things they never saw.

In all of these institutions and in hundreds of other institutions, and in all parts of the country, young men and women are mingling in perfect and proper freedom. For the most part the men and women live in separate homes, boarding-houses, clubs, or fraternity houses. Wherever the women live by themselves in a club or fraternity house, that is, outside of the life of a family, they themselves arrange for proper chaperonage. The common sentiment of the community exacts this. A university dean of women acts as their friend and adviser, but not as their superintendent. In work there is equality. Young men and women search for the truth in the same library, and tell what they have found, or reveal how much they have not found, in the same classes. They of course have separate gymnasiums, and often naturally prefer separate playgrounds. They very commonly go in couples to the athletic field to see an intercollegiate contest, or to the armory on a Saturday afternoon once a month to a military hop, or to university events in the evenings. By common consent all social functions are arranged for Friday evenings or Saturday afternoons and evenings. There are no rules to break, and there is no spying to stir indignation. A good deal of sense and not much foolishness are manifested in it all.

These young people are quite as safe in this environment and atmosphere as in their own homes. All that this

atmosphere is doing for them has as much protection in it as the uncertain oversight and slender authority of fathers and mothers at the age when young manhood and womanhood have arrived. And it has infinitely more incentive and inspiration in it. Marriages often follow after college days are over, but it is seldom that either party gets a stick or a poltroon without being chargeable with notice, for university sentiment has fixed the status of each beyond a peradventure. Ordinarily each will get a sane, substantial, true, and hard-working associate; and ordinarily together they will prove to be the best intellectual leaven in the neighborhood mass.

The wisest course in education is inevitably upon lines parallel with the highways of Nature. She helps us on our way, if we do not cross her tracks. The less of the artificial and the unnatural there is in educational work the better. It is not uncommon to think some other arrangement than the one we have is better, because we know the difficulties of our own organization more completely than those of one that is far away or yet untried.

Of course there are some branches in education which appeal to men more than to women, and others which appeal to women more than to men. In the smaller colleges the work is of the kind which meets the need of students of both sexes who go to those colleges. In the large universities there is sufficiently wide opportunity for election. The process of natural selection will take more women than men to some classes, and more men than women to others. Possibly, in cases, some classes will be made wholly of women, and others wholly of men. It is all right. It is natural. There is nothing artificial about it. There is no one to complain, and nothing to complain of.

The point is that there are no general reasons, at this stage of intellectual progress, for the separation of the

sexes in education. If either men or women wish to withdraw themselves from working jointly with the others, either wholly or in part, there is abundant provision for their doing so. They are not to force others to do so. Much less are a few managers to force all to do so. It is a matter of personal preference and individual right. The right of the woman to the best there is in college is just as inviolable as that of the man, and it cannot be met unless she may have the same instruction, if she wants it. Physiological, psychological, and social difficulties exist only in the imagination. It has been proved that intellectual and social healthfulness follow the companionship of the sexes in a large, even more than in a small, institution. If the small colleges choose to keep out either men or women no serious wrong or harm follows, for one may easily get elsewhere all that they can offer. If a woman's college, even of first prominence, continues to exclude men, it does not violate the right of any man, for there are no facilities, and there is no teaching there which is not quite equaled in the leading universities, unless of a class which none but women want. But if the great universities have equipments which the women's colleges cannot rival, and if their teaching staffs are the very climax of the work of educational institutions since the beginning of universities, and if women are to be denied these advantages, wholly, or in part, it is taking away a substantial right which is theirs under all the theories of our government, and which all the interests of our democracy loudly demand that they shall have.

In point of intellectual proficiency in co-educational institutions there is no noticeable preponderance with one sex or the other. Socially they separate into sets very much as people ordinarily do. There is a "society" set. The numbers are not very large. They manage the social func-

tions, dress well, and have a good time. Some of the lighter-headed ones get into this set and fall short in the examinations, but there are really very few of these. The larger number can regard social life and personal attractiveness without falling down at the end of the semester, and a university owes much to this class of students. Then there is a set who may be called the drudges. Life is terribly severe with them, and they are indifferent to appearances. It is not due to want of money so much as to lack of home training and of intellectual fibre. Their number is happily small also. Between these two stands the great body of students, the great middle class, who lead ordinary lives, do ordinary work, mingle in the ordinary intellectual and religious associations, keep things balanced, and develop a very large number of sane men and women who in time transfer the substance which the university did not create, but which it developed, to the social, political, industrial, professional, and spiritual life of the world. It is all very natural, and it is charming and effective because it is nature at its very best.

Perhaps it remains to be said that there are men in the universities, and unhappily they are not all among the students, who are either woman-haters, or who satisfy their code of social ethics by chivalrous attention to women on special occasions, and by living like barbarians all the rest of the time. They cannot keep up so much artificial politeness all the time, and the continuing presence of women is an intolerable restraint upon them. Of course they will not say this. Perhaps they hardly know it. Hunger for investigations and discussions which cannot be carried on in the presence of women is but a thin disguise for the natural tendencies of a learned mountaineer. What is scientific is not vulgar, and what is vulgar is not scientific. The vulgar has no place in a university. It has no more

place in a man's university than in a co-educational university or a woman's college. The man who wants to smoke in the midst of educational work, or to swear or talk coarsely anywhere, is out of his latitude if in some inconceivable way he has broken into a university; and the natural course of democracy and of education is not to be turned aside on his account.

Men and women supplement each other; each supplies the factors in thought and endeavor, in discretion and stability, in force and progress which the other lacks; and the great accomplishments in human society have been worked out by men and women of character working in coöperation. They modify and strengthen and regulate and guide each other. The greatest good of the race is to be attained through the best possible education for both. Why should they not be educated together? Why should the men and women who are to be the greatest factors in our democratic society be educated under conditions which promote self-consciousness and liking for the life of a club, either a man's club or a woman's club, rather than under conditions which make the recognition of interdependent relations imperative and give the best assurance of intellectual equality and similarity of outlook in the household, and of effective and balanced service in the state?

There is no reason. If there is such reason anywhere in all the world, there is none in America. We have made practical demonstrations and the results are good. We have done more for woman than any other land has done; woman has done more for our country than she has been able to do for any other country. The facts and the reasons are obvious enough. No one, no party or school, is going to turn the hands back on the great dial which registers the progress of democratic institutions.

We are right, we will go forward. We will not be turned aside because a few men cannot see, or a few women do not use their new freedom rationally. We will go forward, holding out the very highest opportunities to both men and women, and we will do it in a way which will encourage the very highest usefulness, coöperative usefulness, in the home and in the state.

IV

SPECIAL ASPECTS AND PROBLEMS

I

EDUCATION FOR EFFICIENCY

AMERICANS are as free in their right of censure as in any other of their freedoms. The elementary schools are everywhere, and often they find themselves within the intellectual limitations of senseless criticism. The loosening obligations of domestic duty and the very weaknesses of the schools have produced an undue supply of people of superficial culture and of "professionals" without employment; and the universal interest in education makes it quite possible for these to occupy themselves, and perhaps gain a little standing, by endless propositions about the schools. There is evidence enough that they are not slow to take advantage of it. The factors which these people have added and would add to the schools are the essential cause of a widespread difficulty.

When but one third of the children remain to the end of the elementary course, there is something the matter with the schools. When half of the men who are responsible for the business activities and who are guiding the political life of the country tell us that children from the elementary schools are not able to do definite things required in the world's real affairs, there is something the matter with the schools. When work seeks workers, and young men and women are indifferent to it or do not know how to do it, there is something the matter with the schools.

The length of the school period and the productive value of the citizen are closely related. Industrialism is the great basis of a nation's true strength and real culture. Knowing this we have seen that there is not sufficient articulation

between the educational and the industrial systems of the country. We have seen the indefinite expansion of instruction and the unlimited multiplication of appliances leading to literary, and professional, and managing occupations, without any real solicitude about the vital industrial foundations of the nation's happiness and power. A situation manifestly unjust to the greater number, even unjust to those for whom it has done the most, has resulted. Notwithstanding our boasted universality of educational opportunity, there has grown up a condition in the educational system, which overlooks the just rights of the wage-earning masses, and grievously menaces the industrial efficiency and the material prosperity of the country.

The overwhelming trend of the programmes of the schools and of the influences of the teachers, acting upon our national temperament and aspirations, has led an undue proportion of youth to literary and scientific study which too often ends either in idleness and insipidity, or in professional or managing occupations for which they are not well prepared, and which are already overcrowded.

Nor is the inevitable disappointment the worst of it. There are a glare, a gamble, and a subtlety about it which are demoralizing to all youth. In the marvelous advance and by some legerdemain, men get to be generals who have never been captains, and overseers who have never been workmen. That affronts the sense of the country. We believe in the natural order of progress. While we hold that any one may aspire to any place, we hold also that he must win it, not by pretense, or by subtlety, or by favor, but through the work which leads to it, and by the gradual accretion of the substantial qualities which are the only true basis of his right to it. We care very little what the work is. We say that one who may work and will not work is not to be taken seriously. We have more love for a force-

ful corporal than for an insipid colonel. We say that the only way to proficiency and the only claim upon respect come through the reflex influence of much work upon the worker. We believe that one whose labor, either mental or manual, adds to the power and the assets of the world has a wealth and a joy of his own to which the idler, no matter how rich, has no claim whatsoever.

Manual labor is not urged as against intellectual labor, any more than intellectual as against manual labor. It is not said that one should remain in the "class" in which he was born, for we know nothing of classes in America, and we do not admit that any one in this country is ever born in a class. Work makes the worker. The willing workman, whatever his poverty or his work, is likely to be a better citizen and a better man than the willing idler, whatever his riches or his superficial accomplishments. It is not a matter of class at all, but of the adaptation of men and women in general to the work which they can do best. This need not discourage those of exceptional gifts, for all experience proves that the exceptional and the great have at first been inured to the severe labor which was at hand, and that this very fact opened the door of opportunity, pointed the way to the thing which they could do best, and seasoned them for the doing of it. It is a matter of efficiency, and therefore of happiness and growth, in occupation. The schools must keep abreast, now and in time to come as they have been doing in time past, with the natural outworking of our democracy; they must not be exclusive in any sense, but must be no less concerned about industrial than about intellectual education. The implications and the influences of the schools must not lead boys who might become excellent cabinet-makers into becoming no-account lawyers, and girls who might be first-class bread-makers or dressmakers into becoming fourth-class music

teachers. The *best chance* of every one is through the thing that he can do best, and while the schools are to inspire and encourage him, they may well be on their guard lest in misguided enthusiasm of their own they turn him from the course which is likely to be the best for him.

All education must be provided in American schools, but conclusions about life occupations are not to be forced, — not even by implications. Determinations are to be left to natural inclinations and to the fates which are kindly to those who have real inclination to actual work of any kind.

All this points to the fact that the school system has grown deformed; it is one-sided and not broad enough at the base. The trouble is not that the higher institutions have grown abnormally. They are doing what colleges and universities ought to do. They are not doing what they ought not to do. Free universities have become the finest expression of the souls of great states, and they are beginning to be the best expression of the souls of great cities, in all parts of the country. Nor is the difficulty in the secondary schools, although they are affected by it. The ailment is in the elementary schools.

Our elementary schools train for no industrial employments. They lead to nothing but the secondary school, which in turn leads to the college, the university, and the professional school, and so very exclusively to professional and managing occupations. One who goes out of the school system before the end or at the end of the elementary course is not only unprepared for any vocation which will be open to him, but too commonly he is without that intellectual training which should make him eager for opportunity and incite him to the utmost effort to do just as well as he can whatever may open to him. He goes without respect for the manual industries, where he might find

work if he could do it. He is without the simple preparation necessary to definite work in an office or a store. He is neither clear about his English, nor certain about his figures. Parents often take their children from the elementary school before the end of the course, not only because they do not appreciate the value of education generally, but also because they feel that the completion of the course will not add to the earning capacity of their children in the work which they must necessarily do.

The programmes in elementary schools are overloaded, and the teachers are overtaxed. The terms have become too short and the vacations too long, in the interest of teachers who are often overworked by schools that are too large and programmes that are too crowded and complex. But that is not the worst. There is too much pedagogy and too little teaching. There is too much artificial, and superficial, and therefore false, culture, and too little of the only thing that makes true culture. There are too many classes, too many books, too many visionary appliances. The teachers are forced into fanciful speculation and airy methods in order to be thought at the fore of pedagogical progress. There are pedagogical and psychological wretches who seem to think that they can experiment upon children as physiologists and bacteriologists practice upon guinea pigs, and that without any equivalent basis of scientific knowledge. The result upon the child is confused conceit rather than mental clarity, and a little information about everything rather than exact efficiency in any definite thing. The Germans surpass us in exactness and in the habit of taking care. Our schools lack concentration and drill upon any one thing until it is mastered, and therefore there is little exultation over accomplishment, small inspiration to new undertakings, and a dearth of either information or power that is permanently retained. It

wearies the teacher and mystifies the child; it confounds the father and mother, and deprives the school of the intelligent coöperation of the home.

Even that is not all. We are more prodigal of the lives of children than is any other constitutional nation upon the globe. We frequently let them commence school late and come irregularly, and loiter along through a confused course at their pleasure or discomfiture. Between subordinating our elementary schools to the requirements for admission to a literary high school, and the indifference of legislators and petty magistrates about making and enforcing attendance laws, we are doing a great wrong to millions of children, and withholding the support which the schools are bound to give to the strength and character of the Republic.

The real situation in our elementary schools is not widely appreciated: the trouble is not where the uninitiated are looking for it. It is not, for example, with what the editorial writers call the "fads and frills." Drawing, basketry, modeling, sloyd, joinery, cooking, and sewing, for an hour or two each week, impose no burden. They afford relaxation, open the way for healthful comradeship and rivalry, supply motive, and lay a little of the groundwork for happy lives, by looking toward both the manual and mental efficiency so sorely needed. But we do not lay the first courses in the building with sufficient exactness and strength to enable our young men and women to erect either successful professional or successful industrial lives upon them. Good housewifery and good craftsmanship are not forging ahead. The bakeshop is a menace to stomachs and to homes. The woman who cannot bake a light loaf of bread, or broil a steak and keep the juices in it, or happily employ her odd moments with a needle, may be a very charming institution; she may keep us posted

about the new novels and the opera; she may amply make up for shortcomings by teaching school, but she is an inefficient home-maker, and it is not given to many to make up for that. The lack of housekeepers is as serious as the dearth of mechanics, and whatever the schools have done to correct the trouble, in either case, has been but little, and it has *not* been a waste of time. The only legitimate criticism upon it is that there has not been enough of it, or enough definiteness about it, to make sure of good results. If more of the time of the schools were given to these things, with a stern eye to efficiency, and if there were less waste of time in connection with books, we should soon see a new and more auspicious epoch in American education and in American life.

The things that are weighing down the schools are the multiplicity of studies which are only informatory, the prolongation of branches so as to require many textbooks, and the prolixity of treatment and illustration that will accommodate psychological theory and sustain pedagogical methods which have some basis of reason, but which have been most ingeniously overdone.

There is a waste of time and productivity in all of the grades of the elementary schools. If a school is to be graded, then a grade should mean something. A child is worse off in a graded school than in an ungraded one, if the work of a grade is not capable of some specific valuation, and if each added grade does not provide some added power. The first two grades run much to entertainment and amusement. The third and fourth grades repeat the *work* supposed to have been done in the first two. Too many unimportant and unrelated facts are taught. It is like the wearying orator who reels off stories only to amuse, seems incapable of choosing an incident to enforce a point, and makes no progress toward a logical conclusion. The

early grades constitute the period of imitation, and the work should be mainly *drill* based on memory and imitation. It is not the period of much thinking; it requires such drill as will result in exact knowledge of the rudiments when the time for using them really comes. Thought should not be much expected in these grades. The reading should be for the quick recognition of the word and the proper expression of it, rather than to germinate thought. When thinking is possible and normal, the time to encourage it has arrived. Then it is done too slowly. The work of the first four grades is too much extended, and that of the last four is not commenced early enough.

To illustrate: the backbone of our elementary work should be the English language, not language lessons learned and recited, but a progressive knowledge of grammatical analysis, much reading for the pleasure there is in it, and a use of the language in accurate and forceful statement. If this is true, much of what we are now doing may be omitted. There is much in our elementary mathematics that is of little value as mental discipline and of little use in life. In the lower grades the pupils should be made "letter perfect" in the tables and the fundamental processes. This perfect knowledge will enable them to master fractions, decimals, and percentage, which are the same things in different forms. The rest of the subjects treated in arithmetics is of little value except in particular employments which few of the pupils will enter. There is too much geography taught, and much is gone over again and again. Only the relations of the great natural and political divisions of land and water, the location of the great centres of population, with more of the details of one's own state, need find an early place in the schools. The rest is unremunerative to small children, and they will get it in a few minutes by and by, if

it ever becomes necessary for them to know it. In physiology we are trying to teach much which only a physician can understand, and which there is no present call for the child to know, and we are doing it badly and using the time wastefully. We reach after too much mere information in the lower grades, and in the later ones we are not up with the normal powers of the healthy child. And the full and proper exercise of the intellectual, as of the physical powers is the essential condition of mental health.

The larger part of this waste is due to two very plausible and very baneful doctrines which have pretty nearly taken possession of the schools in the last quarter-century; that is, the unsubstantial and delusive theories about speculative psychology, and the cure for all educational ailments which is falsely called "culture."

Psychology, and deduction, and imagination, and sentiment have a place in a system of education. Each has a large place where sense is free to ridicule its excesses and science may impose limitations upon its license. The forms and accomplishments of polite society are of course worth while, but mere manners may be only boorishness and brutality refined, or insipidity but little disguised. Culture worth seeking, in or out of the schools, must come from labor upon things worth doing, and from the influence of the power to do and the pleasure of real accomplishment upon the soul of the one who does. The external forms of culture do not make real men and women, but enough work, and true teachers, and a healthful and attractive environment are more than likely to start boys and girls on the road to culture worth the having.

There are people who worship theory as though it were greater than life, and culture as though it were something to be put on like a jacket, instead of being the result of refining the soul through labor and experience. Emotion,

and ecstasy, and affectation, are made to do duty for sincerity and power, and for religion and patriotism too. These people ignore the culturing value of labor, and of deprivation, and of sorrow. They are flippant about the Bible, without feeling its inspirations or studying its translations. They are not much stirred by the flag, for they know little of the heroism that has reddened so many stripes, and they feel little of the aspiration that is emblazoned in every star. It is not said that these people are the rich. Quite as often they are people who make "culture" do duty for riches. Frequently they are people who have gained wealth faster than they could assimilate it. Whoever they are, they should no longer be permitted to tear out the substantial underpinnings of the schools.

These things are said only in explanation of the difficulties and in hope of finding a remedy for the troubles of the elementary schools. Whatever the explanation, the difficulty is manifest and the need of remedy is imperative. We must know what children of school age there are in a state, and where they are when the schools are open. We must stand for simplifying the course and shortening the time of the elementary schools, and for making their teaching of more definite worth. We must try very hard to have the child able to do some definite thing, no matter at what age we lose him.

We must organize an entirely new system of general industrial and trades schools, which will make it worth while for all children to remain in school, and which will provide for the children of the masses, and for the great manufacturing and constructive industries, something of an equivalent for what we are doing for the children of the more well-to-do and for the professional interests and the managing activities of the country.

It is time to organize a wholly new order of schools as a

part of the public school system. We may separate the new order into two general classes. One class may train all-round mechanics for work in factories, where workmen act in coöperation, where each is part of an organization, and where much machinery is used, and these may be called factory schools. The other class may train mechanics who work independently, mainly with their own tools, and without much machinery, and these may be called trades schools.

We say a "new order of schools" because the new schools ought to be sharply distinguished from any schools that are now known in America. They ought to be wholly apart from the manual training schools. They will have a distinct individuality and a definite object of their own. They are neither, primarily, to quicken mentality, nor to develop culture; those things will come in the regular order. The "culturists" are not to appropriate these new schools. They are not to train mechanical or electrical engineers; the literary and technical schools are doing that very amply. They are not even to develop foremen; leaders will develop naturally, for they will forge ahead of their fellows by reason of their own ability, assiduity, and force. The new schools are to contain nothing which naturally leads away from the shop. *They are to train workmen to do better work that they may earn more bread and butter.*

A tentative plan would make these new schools more like shops than like schools; put them in plain but large buildings, sometimes using idle factories of which many cities have a supply; use books somewhat, but make reading subordinate to manual work; refuse to permit our charming friends, who write and print and sell books, to inflate these schools, as they have the elementary schools, to the bursting point; put them in charge of craftsmen who can teach, rather than of teachers who are indifferent me-

chanics; keep them open day and evening; make the instruction largely individual; adjust them to the needs of those who must work a part of the time at least in order to earn a living, and make them for boys and girls and men and women, and of every kind and description which may be necessary to meet the demands of the local factories and trades.

These schools will have to be an integral part of the public school system, for the double reason that they cannot be successful without articulating with that system, and that they will not be accepted either by capital or organized labor without standing upon a legal footing which is independent of both and fair to each of them. It may as well be said at once that any school, teaching a definite trade, will fail without the sympathy of both the capital and the organized workmen engaged in that trade. They cannot be expected to support it, if it can be used in favor of another interest and so arrayed against their own. Capital will take care of itself under economic laws that are well understood. If it cannot venture with reasonable expectation of profit, it will retreat; but it will exist. Capital has a strong enough motive for activity in the hope of profits, but labor has a stronger one in the need of bread. In this country it is not in the nature of either to brook injustice, and the needs of each make it unnecessary that the other do so. In the last analysis each will have to square with the plan that stands fair, that encourages capital to provide labor for workmen by protecting all of the just rights of capital, and that encourages the man to make the most of himself by assuring all of his just rights in his individual industry and skill.

That is an American plan, and it ought to prevail. Such a plan cannot in the nature of things be left to private enterprise. It cannot be dominated by any forces which

are in the least exclusive. American workmen are not willing to depend upon philanthropy. They will not widely accept the training schools set up by the manufacturing corporations. They are entitled to the same, or equivalent, rights as those which are already granted to the professional and employing classes. They know that, and will exact what belongs to them. Whatever is done they want done so completely as to command the respect of the best skill. They will tolerate no false pretense about mechanical skill, but they will be glad to shorten the time in which their boys may become real journeymen. In any event, they know very well, at least their leaders do, that sound, practical training for their boys and girls can come in no other way than upon the basis of, and in association with, the public schools.

The new schools cannot displace, or half displace, the common, elementary school. They will have to follow and supplement it. The reason lies both in educational necessity and in the likes and the needs of the people. But it is quite possible that the compulsory attendance age, in cities at least, may be so extended as to cover the time of these industrial schools; easily so, if the elementary course can be shortened, or children can be brought to the end of it earlier than they are. The law should see that a child is either in school or at work up to his seventeenth or eighteenth year.

How far we can succeed in establishing these purely industrial schools is, of course, problematic. Cities and towns will have to be encouraged by liberal state support. No trades schools have ever been successful without governmental aid. The experiences of other lands — and there have been rich experiences in other lands — will have to become well known among our people. In any event, it is certain that the extent to which the movement takes hold

upon our life seems to be filled with a significance to which no intelligent American can remain indifferent.

Definite propositions have already taken shape concerning the articulation of these new schools with the public school system. It is proposed to have the compulsory attendance age begin at seven years in cities and towns; to take definite measures for a far more complete and regular attendance; to lengthen the term and lighten the work; to simplify the courses, and to give them a more industrial and efficient trend through the simple forms of hand work, such as paper cutting and folding, moulding in sand and clay, plain knife and needle work, and the like, which can be done in the regular school-rooms from the very beginning of the primary grades, and to push children along so that they will at all times have work which appeals to their years, and will complete the present work up to the end of the sixth grade at an earlier age than now. If the present eight grades can be shortened by one or two grades and a year or two of time, so much the better.

At the end of the present sixth grade it is proposed to have the system begin to separate into three very distinct branches. The larger part of the work of the present seventh and eighth grades would be uniform, but some differentiation, looking to very complete separation, would begin with the present seventh grade.

The three distinct classes of schools to follow the elementary schools would be: *First*, the present high school system, which would be somewhat relieved because of the new arrangement; *second*, business schools looking to work in offices, stores, etc.; and *third*, factory and trades schools looking to the training of workmen.

With the work of the present seventh grade there might be commenced some study of modern foreign languages by pupils destined for the literary and classical high

schools; some special commercial subjects by pupils destined for the advanced business schools, and some special training at benches with tools, and in the household and domestic arts, for those who are to stop with the elementary schools, or are to go to the factory schools or trades schools.

At least half of the teachers in the seventh and eighth grades should be men; and these grades may well be housed in central and specially prepared rooms.

We might hope to economize the time and increase the efficiency and productivity through the grammar grades to such an extent that a part of the compulsory school life of the child would remain at the end of the eighth grade; and we might also hope that there would be schools beyond the eighth grade which would be able so to increase the earning power of the child, no matter what his life work should be, that it would be clearly to his interest to remain in school. Then as he approaches what is now the seventh grade, he and his teachers and parents will begin to think of the work he is ultimately to do, and by the time he is through the elementary course he will find abundant opportunity and have some enthusiasm for a school which may exactly qualify him for that work, no matter whether it is professional, or in business activities, or in purely industrial lines.

The sure basis of a nation's strength is in industry as much as in intellect, and in skill as much as in resources. The assurance of a nation's greatness is in the equipoise of mental and manual activities. We do well to open treasure-houses of higher and liberal learning, but they will avail little if we permit inefficient primary schools and if we turn away from the labor of the hand. We do well to conserve material resources, but it will not count for much unless we conserve the time of boys and girls and enlarge the efficiency and versatility of the craftsmanship which

must convert resources into merchantable goods. It is idle to pursue a course which is destructive of the equilibrium of the common life and ignores the decisive influence of work upon the worker. Heads and hands and hearts, acting together, are larger factors than wood and iron and water in the economic problems of the world, and they are infinitely larger factors in the moral, and constitutional, and international, and eternal problems of men and women.

We cannot escape the fact that the elementary schools are wasting time, and that the lack of balance in the educational system is menacing the balance of the country. Children, schools, and country are being ground out between fanciful and conflicting educational theories. The demand that there shall be less mystery and exploitation, less prolixity and parade, that the programmes of the schools shall be more rational and the work of the teachers shall fit children for definite duties with more exactness, is heard on every side.

It does not mean that we must give over the work which goes to literary accomplishment, or art sense, or refined manners, or professional equipment, or scientific learning of whatsoever kind. It does mean that the equilibrium between intellectuals and industrials is being lost and must be restored. It does mean that children are being misdirected into misfits and that it must cease. It means more concern for life, increased productivity in the elementary schools, and incidentally, more rational courses in the secondary schools.

II

THE FARM AND THE SCHOOL

THE success of the farmer depends upon balanced character, love of the earth and of life in the open, knowledge of his farm and the ability to make some scientific applications, practical experience, a grasp of market conditions, sound relations with railroads, aggressiveness in planning, and good business methods, more than upon expertness in craftsmanship. The farmer is his own capitalist. There is little room for capital to dictate. Hardly any other man has the earning capacity of so much property dependent upon his personal attributes as the farmer. The mechanic's equipment is in his skill of hand, and in his not expensive tools if he works by himself, or in a plant owned by others if he works in a factory. In either case he may move readily. The farmer's equipment is in his farm and in his trained and dependable judgment. He is very much a fixture wherever he is.

In the mechanical industries men live and think and plan and work collectively. They go out much of nights; they associate in organizations easily. In the agricultural industries men live and work very individually. They come to conclusions and carry out plans by themselves. In the cities, centralized capital on the one hand, and the leaders of labor organizations on the other, struggle with one another, to the frequent disadvantage of both. There much depends upon others. The farmer controls a considerable property, and the responsibility of prosperity or penury is very largely upon himself. With both the farmer and the mechanic the personality is of overwhelming importance,

but the conditions give the individuality of the farmer larger opportunities and make his success or failure more notable. Essentially, the farmer lives at home. The family life is by itself. The work is at home. The family all have part in it. There is less mingling with fellow craftsmen and with the men and women of other crafts. Trades unionism is absent. The blacklist and the boycott are almost unknown. The farmer is both a capitalist and a laborer. If there are combinations to control the prices of labor, they will not hold together; and if there are combinations to control the prices of products, they are made by manipulators who get the advantages. It all makes so distinct a manner of life that it must create instrumentalities and policies of its own.

This is an industrial democracy. People are to do what they can for themselves. What can be done only in combination and through the use of common power may be done in that way so long as the fundamental equality of right is preserved. With this simple limitation, the state must aid all of its industries. And the manner of its aid must be specific, and the measure of it must regard the significance of the industry.

There are two great lines of policy which the combined action of the people of every state ought to assure. One concerns a system of education which is calculated to sustain modern agriculture, and the other relates to the things which combined intelligence and power may carry directly into all of the agricultural parts of a state to help the people of readiest wits who are most disposed to help themselves.

Not all that agriculture needs is to be supplied by public schools. There are other great factors in the problem. With agriculture, as with every other great interest and its attendant life, there is as much to be reckoned with outside

as inside of the schools. But it is not too much to say that agriculture, above almost any other great human or commercial interest, now claims the support of an adequate and comprehensive system of schools.

Primary schools alone, no matter how good, cannot supply the education which is required to make the most of the agricultural industries. The man who says high schools are unnecessary, in the country or anywhere else, is behind the times, and as much out of touch with rational educational policy as with the spirit of the country in which he lives. Nor is it going too far to say that colleges are as vital as high schools to a system of instruction which will be equal to the demands of agricultural necessity. The first national industry, which supplies the larger part of the raw material for our manufactures and produces four times as much in value as our mines and oil wells together, brings good policy to the aid of necessity in claiming the support of a universal system of education. It is not merely that the farmers' boys and girls, like all other American boys and girls, are entitled to their utmost chance; the nation's educational purpose has combined with the importance of the industry to settle the question.

There is not much to be said in criticism of the rural schools so far as general elementary instruction is concerned. It is true that there is a lack of grading and an absence of plan by which pupils may progress from one plane to another and continually look forward to higher work. But it is also true that the instruction is more individual, and that all the pupils hear all of the instruction and all of the recitations in all subjects and in all grades of work. The rural schools are at least reasonably free from the overcrowding, the overdoing, and the over-exploitation for all manner of ends that are so common in the cities. The teaching is by young women of an average

competency which is now remarkably high. If there could be a uniform system of supervision by superintendents, who hold or can earn teachers' certificates, in districts that are small enough to make actual supervision possible; if such a system of supervision could be free from all partisanship; and if the supervisory districts could be arranged so as to have the village high schools at the centres, and relate all of the elementary schools to them in a way, there might be a universal system of schools for teaching elementary English branches in the country, quite as well adapted to the general needs of the country as those in the cities are adapted to the needs of the cities. And all this might very easily be.

But while the schools of both elementary and secondary grade in the country are serving, or may without difficulty be made to serve, the needs of the country in the ordinary branches of an English education, they are doing nothing to train specially for the vocation of farming. The imperative need of training for the industrial vocations in the cities is evident. Training for the professional vocations has been firmly established. There is quite as much basis of reason and right in popular education for the vocation of farming as for mechanical, constructive, commercial, and professional businesses.

The agricultural situation is absolutely distinct from any other industrial situation, and if it is ever met efficiently it will have to be met in a very distinct way. It will never be met by making agricultural schools of the country primary schools. The children in the elementary schools are too young to want much agriculture; they want English, and mathematics, and the elementary sciences. The primary children in the cities stand more in need of agriculture than do the primary children in the country. The primary schools in both city and country are all-round schools.

Some of the city children will go to the country ; some of the country children will go to the city. The education of the country child is not to be narrowed down to things rural. His books are not to exclude illustrations from, and all other recognition of, rural life ; but neither are they to exclude all else. His primary school is to be able to train him in the fundamentals of an all-around man, who will be free from all exclusiveness, and able to study and do to the best advantage anything that his qualities and his tastes may dispose him to study and to do when the time comes.

All schools require balanced work until the time for specialization comes. Balanced work requires elements that relate to the country as well as those that relate to the cities, and vice versa. There are higher laws and fundamental principles concerning education, and they bear alike upon all parts of the country and upon all manner of people. If these laws are violated, or these principles broken, the people soon come to realize it, and trouble is let loose as it ought to be.

Much is heard about nature study. Its value is recognized. It is good. But it is equally good for *all* children, as cutting paper, and weaving mats, and moulding clay and the like, are good for all children. All of these things make for all-round culture, for all-round outlook, and for all-round love for work and for facility in doing. Nature study is quite likely to appeal less to the country child than to the city child, for obvious reasons, and while it is to be encouraged in the country as in the city, it apparently has about the same relation to real agriculture that sloyd has to laying out an electric plant for a city, or laying down the keel for a battleship. In other words, it is a good thing, — a good thing everywhere, because it helps mould the character of boys and girls, and keeps the way open for what may come after, but calling it agricultural instruction

will not increase its importance so much as it will confuse some minds and subject us to the criticism that we are not doing what we proclaim.

Enthusiasts want the teaching of agriculture encouraged in the elementary schools. It is difficult to determine, however, what are the phases of real agriculture which are adaptable to the primary schools or how to install them in ways that will dispose children to become interested in them. The children of farmers are likely to find interest in many things which look to quickening and dignifying the different agricultural industries, which are not incompatible with the plan and purpose of the elementary schools, and these things should be introduced into the course of study; but there is no more reason in teaching real agriculture in the elementary schools, than there is in teaching engineering or medicine. Agriculture is not an elementary subject.

In some quarters the normal schools are asked to train teachers of agriculture for the elementary and secondary schools. Some of the normal school teachers know something about some of the sciences that are fundamental to agriculture, and some of them know something about some of the practical methods of farming. The fact is, however, that nine tenths of the students in the normal schools who will ever teach at all are girls. Doubtless it will continue to be so. Ambitious men who go beyond the high schools are going to the colleges. And the gods of the Greeks, mean and sordid as they were, would laugh at the spectacle of girl teachers training farmers' boys in the intricacies of real agriculture. Generations will come and go before there is any substantial result to agriculture through the girls in the normal schools.

No educational system capable of adequately supporting the agriculture of a state will be complete without an agri-

cultural college. One with experience in developing an agricultural college worthy of the name will know that there will not be many of these institutions in the same state, no matter how great the state may be. In such a college the best scientific training and the deepest scientific research are imperative. If they are not of the best and the deepest they will be of no avail, and they can hardly be such apart from the teachers, the investigators, and the laboratories to be found at a real university. At a real agricultural college the most exact and reliable experiments and demonstrations are also imperative, and there are both educational and financial reasons in abundance why these will not be much duplicated or often realized apart from a university. In all phases of higher education what is good is not cheap, and what is cheap is not good. It is no less true — doubtless it is more true — in the higher study of agriculture than in any other phase of advanced education. And the higher learning is quite as vital to agriculture as to any other interest of the people. A real agricultural college, associated with a true university, is the true policy in every state. Such a college may be expected to vitalize whatever is done in connection with agriculture in the high schools, and whatever has a bearing upon agriculture in the elementary schools, and it may also be expected to incite and uplift profitable agricultural operations among the people.

There are things to be done in the interest of agriculture, outside of the schools. There need be no squeamishness about doing them. There need be no hesitation about asking the state to do them when only the state can do them. It is clearly within the scope of the political power of the people to promote an overwhelming common interest by combined action, when it cannot be done individually. It is unmistakably so when the people acting together

really do so much to enlighten the political and professional life and culture of the state, and so much to support the commercial interests of the people. After all that has been done in many other directions, agriculture need not hesitate; and others need not sneer when agriculture ventures to ask.

For example, a competent and complete agricultural survey ought to be made of all of the farming lands of every state. The farmers should be told rather minutely of the general attributes of the soil of the different counties and of its chemical elements as well. They should be told, in a general way but with some particularity and definiteness, how it may be used to the best advantage. One may say that they do know. Certainly they know much about it, but if the subject were to be intensively inquired into they would themselves be surprised at the number of things which have not yet occurred to them. Quite as certainly there are some things which common usage shows that many of them do not realize. They should be told of the additions which are needed to restore what has been taken out, or to adapt it to the demands of new situations. They should not have to learn this from commercial corporations that are selling fertilizers. They should not go on putting on stuff that contains nitrogen and no phosphorus, when what the ground needs is phosphorus and not nitrogen. They should not go on selling products containing constituents that the soil requires, when they are worth more to keep than to sell. The common belief among farmers, that mere rotation of crops rests and recuperates the soil, is doubtless fallacious beyond the fact that some crops do not deplete soil as rapidly as others. What has been taken out, what needs to be restored, should be declared by competent authority acting for and responsible to the farming interests. What may be profitably grown, having in view the

factors in the soil, and the facilities for changing those factors, and the new facilities for transportation, and the new demands of the markets, ought to be asserted by undoubted authority. For example, again, if four fifths of all farm animals were to be destroyed by some noxious disease, it would seem a great hardship, but if the pest would discriminate in the one fifth which it spared the plague would in the end be a real gain. The propagation of great herds of mongrel animals which are commonly less serviceable than those which might be bred, and which often are not worth their keep, should not be continued. Every farm ought to have at least one new colt every spring. He should have a pedigree that he could be as proud of as a Son of the Revolution, or a member of the Mayflower Society. He should not be expected to trot a mile in less than three minutes, but by the time he is four years old he should be worth at least three hundred dollars and create a sort of savings bank account for his owner.

There is much to learn about milch cows and scientific dairying before this can be the first dairy country in the world. Of course, there are many fine dairy herds, and of course there are some up-to-date dairymen, but there are hundreds of thousands of dairy cattle which are too mean to keep. Ample knowledge upon the subject is available, and the real prosperity and pleasure of dairying, as well as the common safety of the people, depend upon observing it. A state might well propagate the most desirable and profitable animals of the farm, and actually aid farmers in propagating such for themselves. There are a half dozen German states which have more money invested in buildings and grounds for a veterinary college alone, than the state of New York or its people have invested in veterinary science since the Mohawk began to pour into the Hudson. The Imperial Government of Japan in recently study-

ing the matter of hens, with its customary habit of taking care, sent two trusted representatives to England to select the finest specimens of two breeds which it had decided were best adapted of any in the world to the needs of Japan. Why did they not take American hens? Doubtless because they found that all chickens look much alike to most Americans. There is as much difference in the individuality, and the productivity, and the respectability, and the value, of hens, as there is in horses, or cattle, or sheep, or swine. Other peoples make them the subject of governmental care.

Then there are the large matters of small fruits, and vegetables, and flowers for the markets. Here and there one gets rich through the discriminating propagation of one or the other, but a great many people seem blindly to suppose that they are wholly dependent upon their own spontaneity, and that there is nothing to do but to leave them to nature and to chance. Yet there are states and nations which see that it is worth much more than it costs to make each of them the subject of the investigations and the teachings of a distinct department of a university. There is the vital subject of horticulture in its larger aspects, with its infinite claims and its unlimited possibilities. The apples, pears, grapes, and nuts; the forests, the shade trees; all phases of landscape architecture and gardening, demand the oversight and the leadership and the aid of the state on both the scientific and practical sides. Yet again, there is the still larger subject of the home-making, with its architecture and sanitation, the matter of decorations, the comforts and conveniences, with the adaptation of foods to the family needs, and the thousand things which, with attention, will make the life of the mother an easier one, and the possibilities of the children different and greater than they otherwise would be. And right here is the overwhelm-

ing consideration to which all others must be contributory, and before which every other pales into insignificance, and that is the public need of knowing that boys and girls are the first concern of a state; the public obligation to do the material things which will dispose every farm boy and farm girl to look upon farming more for their own sake than for that of the farms, to look upon it not as repellent drudgery, but as the high grade business that it is.

All these things are outside of the schools, but they have to proceed from the prevalent system of education, and they all relate back to the schools. In a word, from which there can hardly be any dissent, the prosperity and the pleasure of a great industry depend upon the completeness, the symmetry, and the coöperative efficiency of the parts of the educational system which enter into its details and give rationale and character to it as a whole. And in another word, the states which lay the most emphasis upon those phases of learning which bear directly upon the mechanical and agricultural industries, and which carry them right to the homes of the people, will enjoy the largest commercial prosperity and will have the happiest and the strongest populations.

It would be a mistake to leave this subject without a word as to the special training of the women who live in the country, and as to the education which enters directly into the making of the farmer's home. To accomplish any large results men and women must not only work together, but they must have equal advantages; they must be equally enthusiastic and aggressive, and the work of each must be equally regarded and respected by the other. There is a lack of such equality of outlook and opportunity in the greater part of American territory and in American education. The women have less chance; not so much special training either in or out of the schools,

not so many social contacts, not so many implements to do with, and not so much to stimulate and liberalize their work either within their own homes or in comparisons between different homes. There are notable exceptions, but we have necessarily to deal with generalities. Of course, no reflection is intended upon a class of women who are as justly entitled to the highest respect for doing all that they do under circumstances that are often discouraging, as they are entitled to an open educational chance with the men, which very commonly they do not get. If the women could be put in charge of the farm, the operations would doubtless go quite as well as they do now; but if the men were to be put in charge of the house, the greater number of them would either lie down under the burden, or there would be so many changes and so many new conveniences and fixings and implements that the treasury would be bankrupted. Not all of the fault is with the men, although a good share of it belongs to some men. Two farmers' wives once watched an admirable cooking demonstration at a county "domestic science" association, and at the conclusion one said to the other, "I suppose this thing is all right for these city and university women, but I can cook without any of their help." Doubtless she could, and quite as doubtless she belonged to a class who have much to learn about the most desirable and economical food supplies, and questions of nutrition, and the manner of preparation, and the time for use, and the manner of serving. And that is far from all there is of it. It reaches to the making, the sanitation, and the decoration of the house, to the furnishings and conveniences of the home, to the deep subject of home economics and household management, and to all that most effectually brings the vital support of the home to the support of the work upon the farm. It may make the life of the family something to

which ambitious boys and girls will cling; even something to which, being added to the rational and cordial welcome of their fathers and mothers, they will be proud to invite their friends.

In a word, in considering the educational needs of agriculture, the education — the liberal and special education — of women claims quite as much as that of men. There is quite as much necessity of specialization for girls as for boys, when the time for specialization comes. The courses in the secondary schools, whatever form the school is to take, are bound to regard the work of girls as well as that of boys, and there will be no complete or symmetrical college of agriculture unless there is associated with it a department of household economy, with the many offerings which go to the bottom of all the problems of the household upon the farm. Nor will there be sufficient result until the need of it is recognized among the people. And it may as well be added that, when such courses are provided, there will not be much result unless girls can go and take them with just as much independence, and security, and common respect as any boy upon the grounds. If this cannot be until boys are taught some lessons, the date of entering upon that process should not be long postponed.

It is time for this country to enter upon a great system of agricultural extension. The schools, from highest to lowest, should act in accord, not only in training students and in scientific research, but in carrying knowledge to the very doors of the farmers. Evangelistic work in agriculture should go everywhere. Seed specials should be run over the railroads. The blood of the best farm animals should be distributed throughout the country. Object lessons of special interest to both men and women should be carried in all directions. The applications should be espe-

cially adapted to every section, and the fullest attention should be given to the less favored rather than to the more favored counties of every state.

A state might well send a commission of practical farmers and trained scientists, or, perhaps better, a commissioner who is experienced in farming, informed in economics, and trained scientifically, to any country in the world that seems able to send us anything in the way of farm products or domestic animals that will be of advantage to us, with authority to buy, and directions to learn, whatever would be of advantage to our agriculture. New Jersey has recently imported fourteen Percheron and Clydesdale horses to extend the breeding of these magnificent draught horses among her people. Another state has sent one man to Germany to study veterinary colleges, another to Denmark to study dairying, and a third to Argentina to investigate beef cattle. There are scores of similar subjects which individuals cannot exploit because they do not know what to do, or are without the money or the inclination to engage in large undertakings. In such circumstances it is clearly within the functions of the state to act. There is no smack of paternalism or socialism about it. All good governments do it in order to aid the industries of the people. It involves no large amount of money, in view of the sums to which states are accustomed. But it cannot be done by agents who know little about it, or who are more concerned about themselves than about the enduring interests of a great state. If honestly and capably done, the sentiment of the state would cordially sustain it because there would be sufficient assurance that whatever was undertaken would be scientifically initiated and well and wisely carried out.

There are perhaps three great fundamental factors in the distributive wealth of a state; namely, natural resources,

commercial situation, and the intelligence which puts them to the very best use. The largest factor in natural resources is doubtless the tillable soil. The things in the life of a people which are of utmost and enduring worth invariably come from Mother Earth. Manufactures are dependent. Importations are uncertain. Toll may not always be taken of the commerce that comes through both our eastern and our western doors and is carried over our highways. Mother Earth will never forsake and she will never deceive us. Neither will she permit us to trifle with her. One who cannot afford to lose, cannot afford to speculate in uncertain and demoralizing crops any more than in uncertain and demoralizing securities. Nor can he afford to go on in the way which did well enough when we were wholly an agricultural people, when children were seasoned through doing their share of the work, when books were few, and when the simple district school joined with the work of the farm to support a simple, but none the less noble, civilization.

And we shall be a witless, as well as a misguided people, if we do not combine to ascertain from the reports of the markets and the work of the laboratories what may be done without much risk, and if we do not adjust ourselves to the more complex, the more intelligent, and the better life of our day in a way which will enable our properties to get our share out of it. The farmhouse will have to have the essential conveniences and connections of the city house. The boys and girls will have to have the things which they know other boys and girls have. The young men and maidens will have to have a good time and be able to find the ways for meeting their reasonable ambitions. The shorter working day and all the better conditions of labor will have to be reckoned with. The comfort, and the enlightenment, and the moral betterment of all in

the household will have to be sedulously studied and generously provided for.

Of course the social, and educational, and industrial combination will give help to such as accord with it and are capable of making use of its advantages, but the personal equation will have to settle things upon each farm, and the personal attributes of the individual farmer will have to prevail. But while, no matter what the general level of intelligence and sagacity, some will fail and complain, and some will prosper and be happy, yet, there is no doubt about the public attitude and the common undertakings of a people being often vital to the progress of individual men and women who deserve to prosper.

III

PHYSICAL TRAINING AND ATHLETICS

THE belief that physical training is entitled to only a subordinate place in our scheme of popular education is certainly persistent, but assuredly that is not because of any indifference to physical symmetry, strength, and skill, or any doubt about the value of legitimate sport in rounding out the characters of men and women. Nor is it associated with any misgivings about the advantages which must flow from the new and gratifying tendency to bring, so far as there is any real call for it, field sports and the training of the body, into some definite relations with the commonly accepted work of the schools.

We know full well how a perfect body gives effectiveness to moral impulses, and how a handsome man adds the highest charms to a manly one. And we know, also, how strength and suppleness balance minds, enlarge the resources of the home, and steady the course of the state. But we know, too, that the interdependence of the physical, mental, and moral attributes is not even. We recognize the attractiveness and the forcefulness of one in whom they are balanced, but we ought not to fail to see that the intellectual and moral faculties are not as helpless without the physical, as the physical is repugnant without the intellectual and the moral. A mere pugilist, even with the skill of his senseless art, is an offense to balanced men and women, while some of the finest gifts which minds and hearts have brought to the world have come from men and women who had no charm of physique with which to sustain them,

and no physical strength with which to bear them to the unbelieving.

Society need not do everything for its members, and it is not bound to do all things in equal measure. Much must be left to individuals, and on the whole, and in the long run, the more that is left to individuals which they can do well, the better. The strength of the American nation has perhaps come from these two principles more than from all else together; namely, that we have assured to every child the fundamentals of an education, and then put upon him the burden of freedom, — a chance to make the best of himself, or the responsibility of gravitating to the under-side.

We may well invoke the doctrine of the simple official and the simple administrative, as well as of the simple personal life. Officialism, the tendency to make more public work and spend more public money, particularly in view of the aggressive public spirit and of the abundant prosperity and ample resources of this country, may well be attended with some thought if not with some apprehension. Surely this is not an unreasonable suggestion in view of the quite apparent enlargement of the demand for added support from the state and the no less manifest willingness to concede this by powerful and influential factors in the state. Without assuming a too confident attitude upon all the phases of a great political philosophy concerning which the more advanced thinkers are but just feeling their way, it cannot be too much to say that — in view of the enormous cost of the public school system and the greater expenditures that must surely follow — the men and women of the schools had better not anticipate public opinion, and the definite authority of the people, in adding any features that are not clearly essential to a programme of work which is already overloaded, to an administrative respon-

sibility which is already overweighted, and to an expense account which is already very long.

The schools are not lacking in essentials, and they are likely to find more of them. A school may have some non-essentials, but it should not unless the community is abundantly able, and the people understand the matter thoroughly. If more things are to be added to the work of the common schools, they should not be added by teachers, or by ambitious superintendents, without ample discussion and free approval by the people. Private schools may do whatever their patrons will support. But the free and state-enforced schools of the masses must assure to every child such rudiments of knowledge as are necessary to his free participation in free government and to his fair opportunity in the world. In all towns of any size in this country, high schools form a consistent part of the public school system. But the elementary schools will not be so good, or the high schools so good or so universal, if in either case they are weighted beyond the means or the desires of the community with burdens not integral to their generally accepted plan. All beyond that must wait upon special circumstances and the willing support of the people. Happily, our American educational system is unique in the flexibility and adaptiveness which afford opportunity to special conditions and carry the schools along with the intellectual advance.

Physical training is not one of the fundamental things which the schools must everywhere provide. It is not as needful to the making of the perfect man as either mental or moral training. It is desirable, but one may do without it better than without one of the others. The state leaves the moral training, except so far as it is inevitably and incidentally associated with the training of the mind, to the home and the church, because the different denomina-

tions of Christians do not agree upon how much or what distinctly moral or religious training may be carried on by the common schools. There is no such exception taken to physical training. There is no objection to it on principle, and therefore it is permissible and desirable in communities where public sentiment will sustain it. But it is not so urgent anywhere as either the training of the mind or the training of the conscience, because youth naturally helps and promotes its physical self more than its mental or its moral self. Very often its physical properties get on very well indeed if left rather largely to themselves.

No form of indoor training can take the place of open-air play in the elementary schools. Calisthenics are unobjectionable, but with little people they are no substitute for natural play. Playgrounds may cost more, but they are worth more. No matter what they cost, it is the business of the public to provide them. Happy is the town which provides them early when it can do it adequately.

If the buildings are hygienically pure, if there is sufficient air space and sunlight, if the mechanical appliances and the possibility of their refusing to work are kept at a minimum, if the grounds are ample and dry, and if teachers are sane about the relation of work and of freedom for children, there need be no fear of lack of physical training in the elementary schools.

This is not saying that special teachers who will quickly see the special needs of multitudes of children in the city schools and who will aid the class teachers to see the need of artificial exercise, which must often be substituted for real work or natural play, are not desirable in large systems of schools; but the special circumstances ought to govern.

It is not necessary to discuss the advantages or disadvantages of different systems of physical exercise. All have

advantages and are practically beyond criticism. Adaptation to conditions is the paramount and not very serious question. Enthusiasts will not agree; it is their mission in life to stand up for their own, and they generally do it well. If we let them do that and give them their chance, they ought to be content without expecting that we shall let any "system" own the schools.

Passing from the elementary up to the secondary schools, we come upon a different situation, both as to the schools and the pupils. The schools are likely to be almost exclusively in congested districts. The pupils have outgrown the kind of play that is best for them. They have become more constrained and a trifle more conventional. They resent leading strings, — and they know much that is not so. They are at a critical stage in their bodily development. They need less care but a little more guidance, sympathetically and unostentatiously given. If the population is not dense there is little trouble, for they get about all the help they require in this connection in their ordinary work and natural play, but in the centres of the cities this is hardly true. In these centre gymnasiums are a necessity. There is no doubt whatever of the advantage of regular work in a gymnasium, both for young men and young women. If they do not commence it at the high school age, they are not likely to commence at all.

Whether the public high school should supply this desirable addition to the opportunities of youth is not so much a question of educational necessity as of neighborhood feeling and expediency. Often there is no local need for one, and no local appreciation of the uses of one. Often, private enterprise or associated enthusiasm, like the Christian associations, the Turner societies, or the athletic clubs, provides them. While the high schools are not bound to provide them, still, if the deliberate sentiment of their con-

stituencies will sustain them in doing so, it may be done without invading any sound principle of the educational system. The difficulty is that when one school does it the others think they must, in order to be up to the times, and they undertake it upon a basis which cannot succeed. A gymnasium is worthless unless thoroughly equipped and made inviting, and unless managed by specialists who are themselves not only able to use the apparatus in attractive ways, but are also sympathetic and inspiring teachers. Gymnasium work will be without result unless very regular and very persistent. With all these it will afford splendid results. Without a ready and popular support and a clear understanding of all the conditions which alone can assure results worth the while, it is safe to say that the establishment of a gymnasium in a secondary school is a move not to be encouraged. It must at all times be had in mind that so long as pupils live at home there are some things concerning them which may well be left to the homes to see to.

When we come to the colleges and universities the conditions are again different. The students are away from home, with all that implies. Much closer mental application is exacted. The need of regular exercise is much ignored. Youngsters dare fate senselessly when they are free to do so, and in college they are likely to come into a larger freedom for the first time. The need of a complete gymnasium with ample instruction and required attendance, at least in the freshman or the freshman and sophomore years, is manifest enough. Here gymnasiums are both necessary and practicable. Ready and sensible medical supervision of all the students and of all the affairs of the institution is also very desirable.

The physical training of a whole body of students evenly is better than the training of a few elaborately. But inevitably some will excel, and such will have special ambitions,

and they will gain special attention. Good rivalries will ensue, not only between individuals in the same institution, but between experts in different institutions. Then, of course, there will be the utmost effort and the most exact and complete preparation.

Reference is not now made to sports or games or to "team work" at all, but to the strength, endurance, and skill of the individual man and to competitions where they are put to their highest tests. They are wholesome and quickening in every way, — nothing short of a spur to the schoolboys and an inspiration to the educated manhood of the country. Even if the notable contests are narrowed down to a few men in any one year, the opportunities are open to all, and very large numbers get the uplift which goes with them. The conditions of the competition are well settled, the management is exact, and the opportunities for frauds are very slight and the temptations hardly perceptible. The boys manage these contests themselves, and beyond all doubt they manage them upon a plane so high that it ennobles the managers, pleases the contestants, and satisfies all. The uncertainties do not invite betting. The disappointments are not deep. All honor the victor, and none more than his closest competitors, for none know the cost of the triumph so well as they. If the achievement is noteworthy, it is at once known in every part of the country.

The English say that we strive especially for the records rather than to gain them from normal work; that we concentrate supreme effort on a few, instead of getting the benefits of the work for all; and that we almost lose the point of physical training altogether. They must say something, and it must be admitted that there is something in what they say. But our way is the American way and theirs the English way, and we are both getting on very well, — and

we are all glad that we are getting on so well together. We are each likely to tell the other much that it is very desirable to know.

The intense application and the long and exact special training incident to these sharp contests seem to require caution against "overtraining," or the development of some part or function of the body at the expense of some other. There is danger enough of this to claim educated and experienced oversight. Aside from the possibility of this there seems to be nothing hurtful to the participants or demoralizing to the student body from this high grade physical work, or from the ensuing contests.

The distinction between physical training and "athletics" seems to lie between indoor and outdoor work; between what institutions do for students and what students do for themselves; between work performed to keep health and promote strength, and sport for the excitement and fun that are in it; and between the work of an individual and that of a "team."

Any criticism brought against physical work in the schools is stirred by these team contests. No matter how many it takes to make a team, it takes thousands and more to make a game. The crowds of fervid partisans on either side; the banners and streamers and songs and horns and calls and yells and yell-captains; the officials and coaches and trainers and doctors and rubbers and bottle bearers and scrubs and athletic statesmen, must all supplement the teams which struggle for the mastery and for the prestige of their universities, in order to have a game. There are some who dislike all this. If you are out for fun it is quite as well to have it. The men who know little about it are able to find enough to criticise. Old men, who never thumped one another when boys, are apt to be against it. Boys who do embroidery work while their mothers read

poetry to them, men who want a fire engine or a lifeboat to slow down for fear something might break, without seeing that something *must* break if it does slow down, and men who hug the constitutional negatives after the council is over and the bugles have sounded the advance which must enforce the constitutional commands or save the constitution itself, are hardly likely to be in love with games which turn upon strength, force, nerve, sense, and skill.

But the American crowd likes them. Training has to be sustained, perhaps required. The strenuous games attract the multitude, perhaps in a measure which has some perils in it. The fact that the crowd likes them is not against them. The common feelings are not necessarily all wrong. The crucifixion of the flesh, the breaking of the spirit, have no part in modern ethics and no share in twentieth-century teaching. The fair questions are: Are these great games fraught with unpreventable evils which outweigh any good they may have? Are they on the whole good, or bad, for the youth of the country? And, what ought to be the attitude of the college concerning them?

We would meet these questions squarely. To do that we must face the exact criticism and focus the discussion. Baseball is a natural college game. It is open, and all may see all that occurs. It is not so technical that people who follow ordinary pursuits cannot understand it. It is relatively free from dangers, and while it attracts the throng it is not encompassed by many temptations. It comes in the spring when there must naturally have been almost a year of residence in college. Rowing has many good features and not many bad ones. It seems to encourage gambling in some measure, but otherwise is mostly beyond criticism. Tennis is ideal, but many young men want heavier work. Golf is hardly a college game; it has been said that it is a

state of the social mind. The game which holds the centre of the stage in the fall and draws all the criticism is football. It has more ins with more outs than any other college game invented. The troubles with it are not in the high schools, unless it is in the influence of the college game upon them. If there is trouble, it is in the college game itself, in the consequences to college boys, and the general bearing of the game upon the thought and feeling of the country.

Pointedly, these are the criticisms on football: —

- (1) That the game is dangerous and exhausting.
- (2) That the 'varsity teams do not represent the bodies for which they stand.
- (3) That the game makes heroes of men who have no right to the commendation of a democracy of learning.
- (4) That men who give the time and energy required in successful football cannot maintain positions as good students.
- (5) That the coaching system is vicious, training men to evade the rules when that will aid success.
- (6) That the greater part of the game cannot be seen by spectators, and that this aids the evasion of the rules, and worse; that it encourages real battle rather than open manliness and a chivalrous spirit on the part of the players.
- (7) That it induces connivance on the part of students and graduates, on the part of the sporting element in the community in larger measure, and on the part of college authorities in some measure, to get men who can play a strong game by paying them for it in one way or another, and without reference to their standing in college or their right to admission at all.
- (8) That it is too expensive for sport, and gathers more money than ought to be under the control of students, and that the game turns on factors which money brings into it,

and therefore that it does not afford a fair basis for inter-collegiate contests.

(9) That it breeds a good deal of loafing, gaming, and drinking, and does not make for educational effectiveness and sound living.

(10) That success is such a factor in college prestige and university preëminence, that the popularity of the game is so general, the pleasures of university triumphs so delightful, the meaning to youngsters who are yet to go to college so significant, that the authorities fall short in courage to deal with the evils of it, and that these are degrading to the student life of the whole country.

Some will deny the facts or the reasonableness of the objections, but the facts are not overstated, nor is much of this criticism without reason. It may well be surmised that the game cannot endure as a college sport unless such serious evils as common knowledge associates with it are admitted and corrected. If that is done, it must be by the men who manage or are responsible for it.

Some evidences have reached the public of unmistakable fraud in getting and keeping men on the teams who are in college for nothing else. These evidences cannot be presented here, but they may be indicated. One of the leading universities in the country is called upon to defend itself against the charge, brought upon it through the course of its athletic managers, that it has on its team a bruiser who has made the round of three or four universities to play in the game; another, that it has a player who is a professional pugilist; and a third, that its football team is largely sustained through political and other jobs which thinly disguise bribe money given to the players in order to keep them in the university. That the atmosphere of the game as now managed predisposes to gambling can hardly be doubted by any one with his eyes open.

The advantages of the game are undeniable. It makes for pluck, nerve, endurance, self-control, and alertness in emergencies. Fair students who are successful football players are not only among the very best men in college, but their promise of marked success in life is exceptionally high. The game brings to many boys their first real ambition to do something better than others can do. It smells of the ground and that is healthful, — physically and mentally healthful. Its influence upon the thought and life of the players is quickening and steadying. It makes for generalship and for organized effectiveness. American football had something to do with the new method of fighting and the new measure of energy and resourcefulness shown by American boys at El Caney and San Juan, at Manila and Santiago. Moreover, it is exhilarating and invigorating, and it binds men together and develops class feeling and college spirit through splendid coöperative effort. It brings colleges to the fore in the thought of the masses. And it takes the conceit out of boys, and in many ways makes for genuineness in living. On the whole, it goes as far as anything else in the universities to make their thought square with the affairs of life, and to lead educated men to the places of the most decisive consequence in the concerns of a great people.

It is all this which makes the game so well worth fighting for. But in the end it must be said that if these things are to be gained at the expense of fifteen lives and many hundred serious injuries in a season, or, worse yet, at the cost of a widening spirit of lawlessness, the cost is too great, and all these advantages will have to be foregone or gained in some other way.

All true and pure sport capable of use for college contests must be fought for. The better the sport the truer this is. As it becomes exhilarating and popular, the larger and

meaner are the barnacles which fasten upon it. But the more quickening the struggle and the more uplifting the spectacle, the more it is worth contending for. To the young men and women who are in our universities, who know not much of physical effort and practically nothing of physical danger, there is more legitimate leaven which makes for lives that can do things, in the rush and struggle, the strategic assault and defense of a 'varsity football team on a fall afternoon, than is brewed in a good percentage of the college classrooms of the world in a semester. Then the game is worth purging and saving.

The evils may be put out of it by authority. Students may be expected to go as far in their excitement as the authorities who are charged with the duty of regulating their strenuosity and enthusiasm will allow. They will have no difficulty in finding excuse for excesses which faculties should see — but refuse to see. And with boys who have the stuff in them the outlook is clear or cloudy, and moral fibre becomes firm or flabby, as those to whom they look for commendation or remonstrance or punishment give, or fail to give, them what is their due.

Until all possibility of it disappears, the moral sense of America should rebel against any view of college government which leaves college boys to go to the bad without much hindrance. The theory that all a professor has to do is to be intellectually, or even *unmorally* scientific, may prevail in some countries, but it should never be accepted here. Fathers and mothers who give their sons and daughters over to any such intellectual leadership as that deserve the distress which unrealized hopes are likely to inflict upon them. It is not a question of college freedom. Freedom is not license anywhere. Freedom is stainless. There is no such thing as freedom to do wrong, in college any more than in the state. The point of sport and of col-

lege contests is lost if college faculties manage them. Endow American sport or American college athletics and you doubtless expel the soul and spirit from them. But students must distinctly know that their management must keep in step with good morals and in key with all the beneficent ends for which colleges and universities exist. More than the point of sport is lost if this is not so.

If in any case students run amuck, or get to running the faculty amuck, the board would well install a new faculty, and if they should be too much for faculty and board together, parents would well withdraw their sons, benefactors would well withhold their gifts, affections would well be placed somewhere else, and what is left would well go down into the depths together. The right to have free contests and exhilarating sports and the right to gain the benefit of managing these for themselves is not to be confounded with the right to carry the college into unseemly places, or to gamble under the name and colors and lights of a university. Boys are to have freedom to manage college sports only when they realize that they are managing for all, and when they manage in ways that hold out welcome to every honest man and bring no blush to any fair and modest cheek.

But let it be repeated that where the wrongs come in, it is less likely that they spring from student inclinations than from official inefficiency. *Students sustain a government which governs.* All they want to know is that it is strong enough to govern, and that it is sane and sympathetic enough to govern well. Whether or not tariffs are to be regulated by their friends, it is surely true that boys are. No man is much of a friend of boys who has forgotten about being a boy, who cannot see things from the outlook of the boy, or who cannot sympathize with the activities in which every real boy must engage.

A university president should not only have part in the athletics because of his own interest, but he should use the sports to make management easy. He should go to the hurrah meetings as often as the crowd will welcome him, and they will welcome him as often as he is genuine about it. He should go down into the gymnasium pretty often, and leave his shell in the sanctum. When the university lines up for an issue, he should be with it. He should pay his dollar and get into the crowd and yell for the flag, and earn the right to have his word welcome at the athletic end of the establishment. He should stand up for a student management that is square and decent and right. But he should hold the right against the time when it is needed to bar out the vicious and temper the excesses; against the time when it will bind all the parts together and keep the whole upon the earth and rather near the middle of the road. On suitable occasions he should try to speak the word in the crowd which will marshal sentiment, set up standards, and fix the pace. He should draw upon the moral sense which is never lacking in a college throng, to brace up the weak and cool off the heads that get unduly heated. If, after that, the bad persist, he should join the issue so squarely that in a little time the air will be clearer and the outlook more encouraging, — or else the demonstration will be absolute that a new administration will be a good thing to have.

There ought to be no difficulty about the university managing the boys who manage the athletics, or settling the tone and character of the athletic work. The authority is as absolute as the responsibility is immediate. It is the common law of the schools that their authority covers everything that may aid their usefulness or stain their good name. None can use the name or fly the flag of an institution without submitting to its direction, or else being posted

as a fraud. Only a sincere and authoritative word to any student should be sufficient. If students ever band together to resist the deliberate word of college authority, it is not altogether certain that they are wrong, but there is no possibility of doubt about the fact that they need a wallop that will last a student generation and be handed down to student generations which come after; or that the college needs a government that can govern. But happily be it said that such cases are so unusual as to be hardly in the reckoning at all.

It is to be hoped that the great universities will serve the good cause of physical prowess and strenuous sport in all the schools by saving the game of football. If they request, the rules will be changed so as to make the game more open and attractive, less hazardous and unseemly, and so as to make the maiming of an opponent under the pile impossible. A university direction that none shall represent it in an inter-university contest but a matriculated student who has been in residence a year, would very nearly settle matters. The factors of a game are bound to square with the honor of the university, and the management of the university is bound to see that they do. The insistence that the gate fees which are senselessly high, having amounted to \$60,000 at a single game, shall be at a rate which does not discriminate against great numbers who love the sport and want to follow the flag, would be a good preventive medicine against a malady that is becoming too common and serious in university life. If, beyond this, it might become distinctly understood that there is nothing in common between a university and a saloon, and that it is a crime in the university, as it is in the state, for a boy to gamble on university contests, about all the grounds for the criticism would be removed.

If it be said that these measures would take the life and

the interest out of the game, then the game ought to go. Any game which is not consistent with full college work on the part of the players; any game which does not beget moral character and true manliness on the part of the truest lovers of sport; any game which must be handed over completely to professional coaches who use up boys to vindicate systems of coaching and who are strangers to the main and enduring purposes of college life, will have to go. If the enthusiasts are not on their guard, they will prove more than they would wish.

College athletics comprehends the whole matter in all the schools. Children imitate their seniors; the schools below imitate the schools above. And they are more aggressive in imitating the vices than the virtues. The high schools and the little boys in the primary schools and the kindergartens imitate the play and the sports of the colleges, and they copy the worst phases without appreciating the best. With college athletics upon a sound footing matters are made easy for all the teachers and all the parents of the country. The responsibility of college authorities concerning the purity and influence of all play and sport, of all games and contests, is obvious and weighty. The better sentiment of the country should enforce the responsibility. The colleges and universities will willingly respond, but they need the support of insistent public sentiment.

All of the responsibility is not upon the colleges. The extent to which students in the high schools are often encouraged to seize upon a freedom which is only permissible with older students, and to use it in dangerous ways, is absurd. It seems to be going from athletics to organizations and activities of every kind. The responsibility of boards of education and faculties is immediate and the authority is absolute. It is needless to say that whatever

involves the good name of the school, that whatever concerns the moral sentiment of boys and girls, is to be dealt with.

The following physical training and athletic creed may be drawn from what has been indicated. But this, like all creeds, will perhaps need rewriting now and then:—

(1) Work and play are vital to the growth of physical symmetry, strength and skill, and the rounding out of the perfect man.

(2) The more real the work and the more natural the play, the better.

(3) Where these are lacking it is desirable to create artificial means for supplying them.

(4) Mind, heart, and body are dependent upon one another, but not equally dependent.

(5) Physical training is not to be counted among the fundamentals or the essentials of the common school system; it is not incompatible with that system: special circumstances are to determine whether the schools should assume it. There is little call for it in the rural districts and small towns, but more where the population is congested and resources are ample. There is not much call for it in the primary schools, but more in the advanced schools.

(6) The main business of the common elementary schools is to initiate the correct use and expression of the intellectual faculties, with such reference to moral sensibilities as the régime of the system may impose and the opportunities of teachers, with correct moral perspective, will afford, and with such regard for health and balanced physical development as sanitary schoolhouses and sane teachers, with a little general assistance by special teachers, in the cities, make practicable.

(7) In the secondary schools special facilities for physical training, such as gymnasiums, are quite permissible, but

here too the conditions of population and the neighborhood feeling should govern, and nothing should be undertaken without a good understanding of all that is involved, or without carrying out all that is attempted in good form and completely.

(8) In the advanced institutions physical training is practicable, should be provided for, and, generally speaking, may well be required.

(9) Contests of strength, endurance, and skill between individuals are desirable.

(10) The lowering of records is a distinctly laudable ambition, because of the bearing of individual accomplishment upon all concerned, but the highest consideration is the growth of physical proficiency in the multitude.

(11) Team contests have a more distinctly invigorating influence upon students and upon the common thought of the country than individual contests, but are encompassed with corrupting tendencies which demand the alert oversight and more decisive protection of competent authority.

(12) Students are to manage student contests, but only when the management is thoroughly compatible with the ideals of the institutions represented. There is no school freedom not consistent with the ends for which schools stand.

(13) An institution dishonors itself when it permits one not a regular and genuine student to represent it.

(14) Any physical work or contest incompatible with regular student work bears heavily upon a few and discredits all the serious work of an institution.

(15) A system of coaching which cares nothing for the man who is a factor in a game, which stops at no method, which cares only for success and for the prestige of a professional coach, and which is not representative of the honor of an institution, is vicious and intolerable.

(16) A contest between educational institutions must be free from features which make for profligacy or corruption.

(17) The use of athletics to advertise an institution is reprehensible.

(18) No sport can stand for an institution which, by reason of the large gate fees, bars out (or ought to) a large percentage of the constituency of the institution who want to be present at its contests.

(19) The friends of college sport will have to fight for its integrity, and the more inspiring it is the more the barnacles of society will seize upon it and the more true manliness ought to contend for it.

(20) Physical exercise and open-air play are very great factors in the development of men and in the evolution of the social health of a people. Educational administration should make use of them, and should be held responsible for keeping them clean and making the most of them. In the athletics of the school system as in everything else associated with the schools, the government of the schools is bound to govern.

IV

PUBLIC MORALS AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

It is being asserted, with some persistence, that in recent years there has been a letting down of the moral plane among the people of the United States. It is being bruited about that our moral sense in later years is less acute than in the earlier years of our country, and that the moral standards of America are less exact than those of other countries.

Those who say this are quick to attribute the cause to the absence of religious instruction in the common or tax-supported schools. The charge has been given new point since the state universities have grown so great.

It is a serious charge from a quarter which, of course, has our entire respect. If the moral sensibilities of our people are less pervasive and acute than those of other peoples are, or than those of our fathers were, our religious teachers and others would be derelict if they did not protest. If they also think that this is because of the non-sectarian character of the schools, they ought to say so. But before saying that, they ought to realize that they will be discredited in that public opinion of the country which is above every sect, if their belief in the decadence of morals is not justified. And they ought not to fail to see that if there is such moral depression as they think they see, and if it is due to the cause they assert it is, it proves nothing short of the break down of the political philosophy and institutions of the Republic.

The thing goes to the very foundations of the splendid and costly temple in which the people of the United States

live, and which they have erected in the belief that it would not only give them shelter and security, but also opportunity to develop the purest and highest type of Christian civilization ever conceived by the heart and mind of man. There is the possibility that all the people who have had part in the building of this house may have been in error, that the lives which have been lost and the sorrows which have been endured in the making of it have been in vain; but an educated man, who must be assumed to know something of political and religious history, who may be expected to put a just valuation upon political equality and religious freedom, is bound to feel the responsibility, and the solemnity, and the vital necessity of such a charge, before asserting that the schools are responsible for our present moral standards, and that those standards are lower than they used to be. If a teacher, or a leader of religious teachers, is free to make it, leaders of lesser weight will be free to follow, and many of the people may be free to believe it. Doubtless all this has been considered.

We must either ignore this charge, or examine it rather critically. It does not comport with our regard for the good intentions, and the piety of those who make it, to ignore it. It may be examined without anger, and it ought to be discussed without giving offense. A government which makes for irreligion is a mistake. We make here no fine distinctions between religion and morals. No matter what incidental advantages there may be in such a government, they cannot be sufficiently compensatory. But the founders of this government did not imagine that they were setting up such a government as that. They were religionists of the severest type. They had fled from other lands that they might be free from governments which governed in the name of religion, but yet took

away all religious freedom. The governments they had left behind them made them know that there must be a new plan before there could be more freedom.

The men who framed the national and the state constitutions of this country saw, and the results enable us to see it even more clearly than they, that the vitality of a state depends upon moral freedom, and that moral freedom depends upon opportunity without interference by the state. But they saw also that the self-interests of men, the urgency of theorists, the ambitions of human organization assuming to move in the name of God, are menacing to the freedom of a state. Therefore, when they framed the first constitutions that had ever been reduced to written form for a people, they wrote it large and plain that religion should be encouraged, that preference in or exclusion from the state should depend upon no particular religious belief, that there should be complete separation between church and state, and that all the people should have equality of right and opportunity under the law. They thought they were laying foundations which could sustain all manner of civic institutions for enlarging the opportunities of men, and that they were opening the way for a larger and freer stream of that human feeling which is the sum and substance of moral character and religious life.

Religion is inherent in men and women. Freedom of thought and of the expression of it is a vital factor in it. Where the attempt has been made to suppress it, or control the form in which it should be expressed, there has been sharp resistance. Wherever the attempt has been imposed upon men of Caucasian blood it has failed. For this reason all governments for or over educated people which have not had a large measure of democracy have failed. It has been not so much because men wanted to govern, as be-

cause faith would not be bound. Of course, there are monarchical governments that have not failed. But there is no government that has not permitted an advance in educational opportunity and religious freedom, that has not recognized the rights of men and bent to the political power of the plain people, which is not breaking down. Our government has succeeded so strongly because it was the first to see all this. It was not only all provided for in the constitutions, but it was amply provided that nothing could come in to interfere with it. In working out these provisions we have rapidly grown to be a mighty people; but that is of no avail if we have grown to be an unmoral people.

The founders of the Republic had reason enough to fear a state buttressed by the deep religious feeling of a church, and a church which could call to its aid the political and military power of a state. They knew full well that the worst blots upon the great page of human history were there by reason of things done falsely in the name of religion, but with the sanction of a church. Our Dutch forefathers had had part in the world's first and greatest war for religious and political freedom in the Netherlands. Our English forefathers had been hunted out of Britain for refusing to let the combined state and church bind their thinking and fix their ways of worship. And the builders of this nation had come from every people under the sun for nothing but to escape the political and religious limitations of old systems, and to enter into the larger liberty of the land where the state may govern without cant, and religion go forward unhampered by the self-interest of any leaders of the state.

We have not only inherited religious feeling, but we have inherited Christianity. We have not only inherited Christianity, but under the plan of government which our fathers

set up, we have enlarged it. We are neither going back to Confucianism, nor are we searching for a new religion. Christianity has always made for human progress above all the forces which have come into human life. It is not the only religion. It is not the only one permitted here. But it is overwhelmingly the religion of the United States. It is in our feeling and in our thinking. We set apart one day of the week in recognition of it. It is in almost every verse of our poetry. We proclaim it in our sorrow and in our thanksgiving. It is diffused in all our institutions. It is invoked on all public occasions. Democracy is the best and the greatest expression of the Golden Rule, and the Golden Rule is the gist and essence of kinship with God. This thing is the warp and woof of our laws. It is recognized in all of our great state papers. Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the federal Constitution, the constitutions of all the states, proclaim it. Washington avowed it in his Farewell Address, and Lincoln departed from his manuscript at Gettysburg to introduce the words "under God" into the prayer "that this nation, *under God*, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." When the words "In God we trust" were removed from our coins, the protest of the people restored them.

Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just,
And this be our motto: "In God is our trust."

In the constitutional convention of our little ward, the island of Cuba, the most violent discussion of the entire convention was provoked by the motion to strike out the provision concerning God and the freedom of religion, and the most overwhelming vote cast in the convention retained it. We had transmitted a lesson. No representa-

tive man or assemblage sitting under the flag of the United States has ever had the hardihood to dispute or even ignore this fundamental basis of our social and legal systems.

Our scheme of popular education is the logical and necessary accompaniment of a plan of political government based upon freedom of feeling, and thinking, and acting. If religion enters into the making and the maintenance of the American nation and the several states, it enters into the schools of the country. The schools are the creations of the states. They came into being by the exercise of the sovereign political power of taxation. They could come in no other way, for they rest upon precisely the same basis as the state. If the state were to be overthrown, the schools would fall. They are not only the opportunity of the citizen, they are the safety of the state. If the schools were to cease, the state would come to an end. If all of the training were to be in sectarian schools, the differences in the state might be expected to be as sharp as the differences among the sects. Differences among the sects are not very serious when a sect carries no sword, but such differences in the state might once again become very dangerous. And so, if the sects cannot be recognized in the state, they cannot be in the schools.

But religion and sectarianism are very different things, and religion may enter into an American state and its schools, when a church or a sect may not. If the perfervid denominationalists do not see that, all the other people do. And the other people are vastly in the majority. Religion is the outflowing of the soul to a Supreme Being, with all that this implies. A church is a human creation to promote religious ends. Denominationalism rests upon one or another system of philosophy; that is, of human reasoning, concerning religion. Of course, these philosophies are entitled to great regard, for they have come from great

minds, have stood hard tests, have gathered many disciples, and accomplished large results. They have been the vehicles for carrying religion to the millions. But because it has become clear enough that it is bad, both for the state and the church, for a state to be mixed up with a church, — even a good church, — it is not in the possibilities that a democratic state can be without, or can fail to sustain, religious culture. God goes where He will.

Religion is not barred from the schools, except when the leaders of the sects refuse to put religion above sectarianism, and refuse to go where they cannot propagate the particular tenets of their denomination, or except as denominationalists object to any expression of religion in the schools unless it be their own. The state does not object to the reading of the Bible in the schools. The legislative charter of the greatest city of the country even provides that it shall be done. The reading of the Bible was formerly very common in all the schools, and there is reason to think that it is more common now than many suppose. Doubtless this is the practice in all our state universities, and in nearly all the high schools. If it is less common than formerly, it is because religious people have objected to its being read by any but themselves, because of their fear that it would be done in ways or accompanied by expressions which would be inimical to their particular sectarian doctrines and interests. But while religion in the school might be helped by formal religious exercises, it is not suppressed by the omission of them. Religious feeling and culture are as inherent in the school as in the state, and if one form of expression is barred there will be others.

There have been others. We have not suppressed or lessened the religion or the Christianity we have inherited; we have expanded and enriched it. We have done it by distinguishing it from sectarianism. We have done

it by putting it above sects, above a human organization called a church, above an intellectual philosophy called theology, and above a platform grown old called a creed. Religious expression may even be freer and richer in undenominational than in denominational institutions of higher learning, because discussion will be rife and free under the roof of a university, because there can be no sectarian limitation upon freedom of feeling and opinion, and because there can be no formalism and no venerated doctrine in the way of the pervasive and progressive power of God.

Parenthetically, let it be said that this does not imply any disparagement of or disbelief in denominationalism. Sectarianism is important, but not of the highest importance. It is itself the product of freedom, and it has enlarged freedom. It has kept and is keeping the beacon fires burning. It is to be sustained, but not taken too seriously. It is a means, not the end. It was the logical result of religious persecution, but it is not a thing to die for when there is no persecution. Perhaps one of the divine ends of the denominational system is toleration, that religious toleration which is the groundwork of our American civilization. Possibly that may make us the most mutually helpful and the most genuinely religious people in the world.

And let no word here be construed into adverse comment upon such manifestations of sectarianism as parochial schools or Christian colleges. There were reasons enough for them, and the fruits which they have borne claim the greatest respect. Their work often claims the highest commendation. There will always be enough for them to do. No one opposes their continuance, and all wish them well. In many cases they preceded the ample provision for education made by the state or its sub-divisions; often they fill a place which would otherwise be vacant; com-

monly the state owes them a debt which can never be paid. It is to be regretted that we cannot come to agreement upon some basis of popular education and religious culture which would be repugnant to none, and which would relieve the denominations and the churches from the effort and expense for instruction that the most forceful of them feel bound to make. And we should stand always ready to take any step not inconsistent with our fundamental plan which will contribute to that end.

Allowance should be made for the differing points of view. Any scarcity of candidates for the Christian ministry is not due to "godless state universities," which in the nature of things cannot be godless. The democratic university was destined to come in any event, and is one of the logical products and instruments of a great civilization; and the civilization which has brought it forth is one of the most remarkable in all human history. All should join in making the non-sectarian schools just as religious as possible, believing that the prosperity of every higher institution of learning will add to the prosperity of every other which tries unselfishly to promote the common good of men.

But now to the question which has been too long delayed. Have we been retrograding in morals? We have been progressing in every other way. All manner of people keep coming to us in ever increasing numbers. We have always feared that they might make self-government unsafe. But they have not; we have assimilated them. Democracy is stronger than it ever was. We have been making intellectual progress. The United States is accumulating a fine literature, and is now carrying on the greatest publishing business in the world. We have forged ahead industrially, and we are beginning to conserve resources and apply science to our industries. And we have been

making political progress too. The understanding of public questions grows clearer and more universal, and the voting of the people more intelligent. The moral right was never more splendidly asserted in public life, and the issue of political contests was never to be relied upon more confidently than now. While all this has been going on, have we been growing morally obtuse and degenerate? There is nothing to signify it. One who is frightened about that has hardly read the literature of the times with a student's care. We are surely none too good, but that there has been any general breaking down of moral sense, any increase in the ratio of crimes or of little meannesses out of proportion to the increase of population, appears to be without evidence and against the evidence.

Of course, we have more people to govern. Certainly, they are not as homogeneous as the people used to be. This throng not only has to be governed, but the governing must be done by and through themselves. It is harder for ninety millions than for nine millions to govern themselves. We have more crimes of every kind because there are more people, just as we have more accidents because there are more railroads. It is hard to keep our criminal laws and our judicial procedure up to the needs of such a rapidly growing population and of a civilization that quickly becomes more and more complex.

While the people have increased twenty-fold, the opportunities and the temptations for wrong have increased a hundred-fold. We have more banks and more embezzlements than we used to have, but every banker in the land knows that the measure of integrity among the officers and employees of banks has steadily advanced; and all the world ought to know that the moral fibre of the men whose business it is to handle money is infinitely stronger than that of those whose energies are directed into other fields.

Undoubtedly our vast mining, and manufacturing, and transportation industries have produced some very artistic scoundrelism, and the influence upon the plain people, and certainly upon the very poor, is bad; but it looks as though the excrescences incident to new and great undertakings were being brought to the level of right and to the bar of the law.

The standards which ought to be applied to new situations are becoming more clearly understood and more firmly established, and the demand for their enforcement is one which no public officer dare trifle with. And on the whole, munificence outruns meanness, and the purpose to be a decent citizen and of some real use in the world was never stronger or more pointed than it is now being made in this country by the leveling and inspiring influence of American public opinion.

We ought not to forget either that we know more, at least we read more, of the badness than of the goodness that is among us, because the newspapers find it more profitable to publish it, and the newspapers are in every hand. But every one knows that there is infinitely more goodness than badness in the crowd, and it is by no means certain that the laying bare of what is wrong does not develop the purpose to punish it, rather than the disposition to participate in it.

Men and women are the creatures of environment and of work, and the character of a whole people is marvelously influenced by the institutions under which they live and the privileges which they become accustomed to exercise. No one can fail to know that this is the land of opportunity, and few can fail to see that people are uplifted by doing things; and the percentage of those who degenerate or amount to nothing is smaller than it would be without the freedom of opportunity and the prizes and

responsibilities which accompany results. This is a poor country for one who believes that people must be kept from the activities and temptations of life to build character aright. It is a good country for those who have confidence in the qualities which God has implanted in human nature, and are not apprehensive about the evolution of those qualities to their logical possibilities.

With tolerance as the groundwork of our American life, our judgment of personal conduct has become less severe. There is reason enough to believe that it has become more just. We have come to admit the good, as well as the bad, in men whose lives do not move in the same grooves as our own, and of whose habits we are often bound to disapprove.

Our standards change, but the change does not imperil the moral situation. Surely we see some things a little more clearly than our good fathers did, and let us not forget that we see them more clearly because the progress of our country has clarified the atmosphere through which we have to look.

It must be admitted that the police power is not exercised in this country as in the older countries which maintain large armies, have many great cities, and are thoroughly accustomed to the constant and harsh rule of the military and the police. We are fretted by the delays in the execution of laws which can hardly keep pace with advances in population and the multiplying complexities of our civilization; but we want no standing army except to meet necessities for protection against insurrection, and no police system which is not keyed to the spirit of the country. The popular confidence in democratic government is absolute, and wherever there is any real exigency the resources of the country prove equal to it.

The liberalizing which has been going on generally has

of course extended to the children and to the schools. There is less control in the schools. A liberalized philosophy of education may have gone to extremes. It is to be feared that children are less respectful and obedient than was once the case. They, too, partake of what goes on about them, but of the good as well as of the bad; and as they advance in years the most of them get more of the good than the bad. On the whole, however, children live more rational lives; the influences of intellectual culture have marvelously augmented; there is a wider range of healthful sports; there are less whining and sniveling; the value of work is taught. Every influence of the school is distinctly moral, and children are made to know, just as well as they can know, what are the conditions of success and of gaining respect in the world. Even though the superficial faults are more manifest, are not the fundamental virtues more sure?

And, whether or not morals are better or worse than they used to be, when was it determined that the homes and the churches might shift to the schools the responsibility for a distinct moral and religious training? There is some reason for believing that, in general, parents are more derelict than teachers about the conduct of children; and if there is any reason to fear that the work of some of the churches is less vitalizing and controlling than it might be, it is desirable that a frank and searching analysis of the reasons should be made by those who are in a situation to make it.

The schools do not dictate our policies; they follow them. They do not determine our civilization; they respond to it. The public schools are certainly secular. They must avoid sectarian contentions, and church distinctions, and the mere theology about which religious scholars often indulge in combat for their intellectual health. But the schools

cannot avoid the enforcement of moral conduct, the exemplification of the basis of correct living, and the exploitation of religious principles. They will go as far in this as they are allowed to go. And they ought to be able to go a long way without invading the exclusive domain of the religious denominations.

Let the Bible be read in the schools and let songs of praise be sung, until some external authority forbids. Let the schools be a little more forceful in control, and a little more specific in commanding obedience and respect. Let them seek with new earnestness to create motive in the mind of the child. Let them accentuate the vital need of work which rests upon men and women; and the vital importance of their lending a hand to others and giving service to the village and the city, the state and the nation. Let them never forget that there can be no real strength, either moral or physical, without the opportunity to do, and without both doing what is rational and right and resisting what is senseless or wrong. And let them realize, more and more keenly, that the way to put all this into the hearts and heads of children is by the teachers thinking it, and by the schools acting upon it themselves. Above all, let it be remembered that character must go with intelligence, and that character is not a mere matter of form, but a drawing out of the spirit into helpful relations with the world.

All are but parts of one stupendous whole
Whose body nature is, and God the soul.

And whatever the schools do, let them do it with a purpose to give no offense to any whose thought and outlook are not exactly like their own.

All manner of schools, of every kind and under all auspices, constitute the educational system of America. That system is the freest and the most flexible and adaptable

of the educational systems of the world. It is developing broad and strong scholarship. Its doors swing to every one. It is showing what a people can do for their own advancement, and what it has already done is the best proof of what it yet can do.

There is no ground for apprehension. We have a sense of humor and the courage of our convictions. We are developing institutions to promote our every thought. There is overwhelming good, unmeasured progress, and little that is bad, in our laws and institutions. We inherited much from the mother country, and we have gathered much from all countries; but we have done more for ourselves than any other land ever did for us. And, "*We, the people,*" have done it. No monarch, no sect, no professional or other class, has either been asked to permit or allowed to limit us in doing it. The Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation *declared* in the name of the states; but in the Constitution "*we, the people,*" *established* the more perfect Union. And the laws of the Union and the constitutions and laws of all the states declare so plainly that they come from the same great source, that no representative or officer of any standing can be so blind as to fail to see it, or so stupid as to obstruct the opinion of the country. There is no fiction about it; it is a serious, pervasive, continuing fact. And the people could not exercise all of this freedom, and bear all of this burden, without the mixing and the training of common schools, reaching from the kindergarten to the university.

This is a poor country for one who lives wholly in himself. It is a good country for all who trust in God and have confidence in men and women. There is no better religious teacher in America than Henry Van Dyke, and we are glad to join in the refrain of the song he wrote upon his return from a voyage to Europe:—

Oh, it's home again, and home again, America for me,
My heart is turning home again to God's countrie,
To the land of youth and freedom, beyond the ocean bars
Where the air is full of sunshine and the flag is full of stars.

So it's home again and home again, America for me,
My heart is turning home again to God's countrie,
To the blessed land of Room Enough, beyond the ocean bars
Where the air is full of sunshine and the flag is full of stars.

V

THE SPIRIT OF THE TEACHER

WE are accustomed to say that the teacher makes the school, and we say it rightly. Then the spirit of the teacher makes the spirit of the school. We are wont to dwell upon the competency of the teacher and to multiply and emphasize the instrumentalities which enhance it. When we speak of the qualifications of the teacher, the practical mind goes to intellectual strength, to knowledge of affairs, and to scholarly attainments; and the professional mind thinks of these and also of psychological investigations and of pedagogical training and experience. No teacher can be proficient whose scholarship is not broader and deeper than the mere routine of her grade. One who has no understanding of the history of education, of the processes of mind growth, of the methods which experience has shown to produce desirable results, and whose mind is not strong enough to stand alone, move forward by its own motion and think out things on its own account, is only a plodder and no teacher at all. But even this is not all. There is another element in the essential equipment of a good teacher. If more difficult to describe, if more troublesome to cultivate, it is even more indispensable to the happiness of the individual, to her influence upon others, and to the effectiveness and fruitfulness of her work. It is the power which moves the machinery of life, the motive which inspires action, and the quality of the faith which characterizes works. The heart as well as the mind is involved in the vocation of the teacher. The emotional as well as intellectual elements of human nature necessarily play impor-

tant parts in the work of training others. By the spirit is meant the emotional nature held and guided by reason; the intellectual nature propelled and determined by the nobler emotions. It is not the physical nature. The body without the spirit is dead. The spirit is the life-principle, the immortal part, the power-producing part, the energy, the vivacity, the ardor, the attachments, the courage, which determines what shall be undertaken, and then puts its hand to the accomplishment of that end with a power which makes achievement inevitable. Spirit sees opportunities; it recognizes occasions; it acts with spontaneity when the time comes. It manifests itself according to circumstances and necessities. The spirit of the teacher is vital to the public school system of the country. It must be effective in its consequences and accomplishments. It must be pure, fine, strong, spontaneous, versatile, the ever present support of the school, and the never failing inspiration of the noblest aspirations of the human family, for whose promotion the school system exists.

Certain characteristic qualities mark the spirit of the teacher and the spirit of the schools.

First, the spirit of the teacher should be characterized by culture. The teacher has had some early educational advantages, surely. The foundations have been at least fairly well laid. There is something to build upon. The powers of the mind have, at least, been set in operation. Opportunities have been frequent and constant. Habits of inquiry and investigation have been acquired. Surroundings have been favorable; there have been some results. Taste has been aroused and it has grown. Then, the work of the teacher has been for others. She has endeavored to open the minds of her pupils and arouse their powers. She has become interested in them. She has witnessed the development of the human powers; she has

seen minds open and souls grow. This start in life, this environment, and this experience must have had a refining influence upon her own mind and her own soul. With all the tribulations and annoyances, if the true teacher has developed, the immortal part of her nature will show purity, strength, breadth of information, variety of accomplishment, power of discrimination, delicacy of feeling and nobility of bearing, which will be recognized in all intellectual and cultivated centres. The gross and the coarse, common to all human nature, will be eliminated gradually; the language, the manners, the style will change; the life will be keyed to the music of the humanities; the soul will aspire to the heights of the sublime.

The child is not an inanimate, unfeeling thing. He is a live, active, sensitive being. If he possesses the elements of future growth, he is a willful, perverse, troublesome being. He may be lovable, he may be repellent. He may be defective in physical or mental organization; he may be unfortunate in home surroundings. Whatever the conditions, he is in the hands of the teacher to be developed and trained. He is not alone; the same teacher has fifty other similar charges. The parental feeling is absent. Yet the child is altogether subject to her. Within her sphere she is an autocrat. She may manage wisely, kindly, and justly, and commonly she does. She may rule with rank injustice, and frequently she does. She may act with kindly purpose, and yet injustice may result. She may be taxed to the limit of strength and endurance. She may be inexperienced. She may have wandered into a state of chronic severity and fretfulness. She may have dyspepsia and mistake it for principle. But no matter what the circumstances, her power is unlimited. The continuous exercise of power over inferior or younger minds is unmistakably dwarfing. The tendency to favoritism is natural. The teacher is in

this regard at least not so very different from other people. Government in the school-room is so absolute that the danger is apparent. A word, a mark, a look may be the effective instrument of injustice, and injustice inflicts a deep wound upon the temperament of the child. He has keener perception and deeper feeling than is commonly supposed. The child's troubles seem trivial to adults, but they are real to him; his suffering is acute. Yet he has no appeal; he is without redress; if he has been the subject of mistakes or mistreatment it is thought to be a mistake to tell him of it. It is not a question of whether there *might be*, for there *is* injustice in the schools.

That there is no more is owing to the large element of kindness which is developed in the spirit of the true teacher. There is no danger of too much of it. There is no possibility of erring on the right side. There can be none too much justice meted out to childhood. But kindness means more than justice. Equal and exact justice is the *right* of every child in the schools and he knows it. It is not a mere question of rights, however. Contact and association with pupils should not be prevented. They are entitled to a time when they may make explanations and prefer requests outside of the class hour and in a familiar and confidential way. Matters will go more smoothly if it is allowed. It means everything to the pupil; it may mean much to the teacher. Children should be helped up to manhood and womanhood and good citizenship. Kindness will unlock the heart of the child and uplift his soul. It will gain his allegiance and draw out the best that is in him. It should be ever present. The stream should never fail. It should increase in volume and in power. It will make the school-room attractive to the teacher and to the pupil; it will render the teacher's name a fragrant memory in the pupil's later years, and when life's lengthened shadows encompass

her, it will light her pathway up to the Invisible and the Unknown.

Kindness in the school means courtesy to the public. It is not always easy to render it. Teachers are brought in contact with all manner of people, the ignorant and rude as well as the cultured. They meet people most commonly upon a subject concerning which they are much interested and most sensitive, and about which there is danger of misinterpretation, for their own children are the informants. The circumstances are frequently trying. However, there is but one course to pursue. Patience should never fail. If the treatment of the child has been kindly, if the teacher's duty has been fully discharged, disagreeable interviews will not be numerous, and when one occurs there will be no occasion to fear. In any event, and upon all occasions, the person who stands as the representative of the public school system should treat every one with whom her work brings her in contact, and especially the parents of her pupils, with considerate attention and courtesy. It is not for her to assume an attitude of antagonism or of disagreeable superiority; she is neither to be nor to appear indifferent; she is not to say things which will wound the parent concerning his child, when unnecessary, even though they are true. She is to smooth out troubles, she is to help the parent and the child, and she is to show that she is anxious to help them. She is to do it because it is the right thing to do, and because it is in her heart to do it. She is to do it with real and true diplomacy. Her spirit in this regard and ability in these directions will be a very excellent measure of her strength and fitness as a teacher. If she fails here she will weaken her position beyond recovery, and ought to. But a spirit which radiates kindness to the pupil and courtesy to the public will make her secure.

If there is any one spirit which should be uppermost in the work of the schools, it is the spirit of truth.

There is nothing so kingly as kindness,
There is nothing so royal as truth.

Truth is the foundation of character. The other virtues rest upon it. If the principle of truth is established, the other elements of an honorable career will be likely to follow along in their own good time. Therefore, the spirit of the teacher must be the spirit of truth; the truth must be held up to the admiration of the school; and all things must be done to give it an abiding-place in the lives of all.

There is no unpardonable sin in childhood, and therefore falsehood is not an unpardonable sin with children. It is a very common one; it is a very trying and reprehensible one. It should be made the sin of sins among children, and the power of the schools should be centred upon the correction of the evil. If the public schools could bestow even the elements of an education upon every American child, and could make a sound regard for the truth an element in his character, American citizenship would be safe, and the Republic would stand as long as governments continue upon the earth.

The teacher should not fail to act the truth. She should not pretend to know things she does not know. She should not insist upon things about which she is uncertain. Even a child does not expect a teacher to be the embodiment of all wisdom. If she claims it, he knows she is masquerading; if she admits a doubt, he knows she is acting truly; he sees that he and his teacher have some things in common; she has a stronger hold upon him.

A boy handed up his written spelling lesson for correction. The teacher marked a word as incorrect, which he thought was spelled correctly. He gathered up his courage

and told her he thought she had made a mistake. She brushed him aside with an indignant remark, about doubting her ability to spell. In ten minutes he saw her engaged in profound communion with the dictionary. He gained confidence. She said nothing, but seemed dejected. He put his paper in his pocket and went home, and consulted his dictionary. He had spelled the word correctly. She had lost his good opinion forever. It was a serious loss, but who shall say that she did not pay the proper penalty for her act. She had made a mistake. It was not serious at the outset. It was a comparatively small matter that she had an erroneous impression about the spelling of the word. But persistence after she knew better was acting an untruth. It was utterly inexcusable. It was impolitic too. Suppose she had given him only what was his due and said, "My boy, I was hasty and wrong about that; you were right; I will have to be more careful next time." He would have been exultant, but that would not have humiliated her. She would have gained his respect and his friendship as well.

There is mathematical accuracy about the truth. It always fits together. There is no safe compromise ground. The danger signal is upon the border line. Truth or untruth may be acted as well as spoken. It is not necessary at all times to tell all that is true. But whatever is said and whatever is done in the schools, is to be open and straightforward, wholly within the bounds of truth.

In nothing more than in this matter does the spirit of the teacher make the tone of the school. A premium should be put upon the truth. A child's word should never be doubted lightly or for insufficient reason. It is better to expect and assume that he will tell the truth. If he is trusted, it will help him. If he is forgiven for his shortcomings and rewarded with the teacher's entire confidence,

he will tell the exact truth. Then the spirit of truth will flourish in the school and character will grow under the roof.

In the plan of the old education the school was a place of detention, the work was only routine, and the teacher was the embodiment of force. In the plan of the new education the school is a workshop; the teacher is a helper; all are to do original work together. The new plan is infinitely better than the old. The teacher will be a learner; the teacher *must* be a learner. Upon no other principle can the work proceed. The stream will dry up unless it be continually augmented. The power will give out unless it is constantly reinforced.

The teacher should be herself; she should be natural. She should not be over-serious. Children are children. Nature should be let in, — human nature, and animal nature, and vegetable nature. How it will bring interest to the work of the schools! How it will open the minds of the children, give them affection for animal life, and send them hunting in the fields and the woods for the products of nature! The spirit of the school may well copy the spirit of a well-ordered home, where all interests are the same, where all the members have common rights, where the weak or the unfortunate are given the most help, where natural characteristics find ready expression, and all work pleasantly and happily together for the common good.

One of the most unmistakable tendencies of school work is to warp the temperament of the teacher. A life which is devoted to teaching must be upon its guard. If not, it is likely to drift into a petulant and ascetic state, and then its power for usefulness is almost destroyed. If it avoids the danger, it will grow richer and stronger, happier and more potent for good, with the accumulating years.

Cheerfulness of spirit is the product of a kind heart and

a wise head. It is an invaluable product. It is as vital to the healthful development of child nature as water and sunshine are to the healthful growth of plants. The school-room where good cheer does not reign is a desolate place, and the children who occupy it are objects of sympathy. Child-life is impressionable. It needs help. It responds quickly. Deny it the light and warmth and it will be stunted and dwarfed; it may be utterly ruined. Nourish it and it will be the noblest work of the Almighty. Like begets like. A solemn, funereal, and complaining teacher develops peevish, fretful, and disagreeable children. Fretfulness is ill-mannered; it is no less ill-mannered in a teacher than in any other person; it is even more so, for it reproduces itself; it makes ill-mannered children. Cheerfulness is contagious also. It extends, reproduces, and perpetuates itself. It will make the desert blossom as the rose. As children need it, so they love it. They drink it in, brighten up, look heavenward, and begin to grow. It calls out the best that is in them. The better and nobler tendencies gain strength and exert their influence upon others. One cannot be too thankful for a sunny and buoyant temperament. It may be acquired. It is an acquisition even more imperative to a teacher's work than a knowledge of English or mathematics. It will bring her happiness and give her power.

The character of the teacher must be steady. There must be self-control. The spirit must be courageous. It must understand the ground it occupies and maintain it. It must know the course it is to pursue and hold to it. It need not be unduly elated, and certainly it must not be unduly cast down by the daily incidents of the school. It must remember that there have been other days and that there will be other days. It must not fret or worry over commonplace matters. It must meet its responsibilities squarely, promptly. It must keep moving ahead. Even if a duty of

unusual import falls upon the teacher she need not go into a decline over it. There is no occasion even then for speculating upon the unfathomable or reaching after the unattainable. She is to meet it without reflecting more than a week upon it, without discussing it until undue mystery and trouble seem to encompass it. She is to act deliberately, with the best sense she has and in the best way she can. No one expects more. Ninety-nine times in a hundred, it will be all right. In the hundredth time some one will help her make it all right. She must have her wits about her, and rise to meet any unusual occasion. She must be strong and steady enough to be counted upon; she must have the reliability which is the foundation of confidence. All this is somewhat a matter of character, somewhat a matter of experience. If the purposes are sound there is nothing to fear. Mistakes are comparatively few and of small consequence if the head is clear and the heart all right. He who never makes mistakes never accomplishes things. The teacher who pushes on steadily, hopefully, doing things as they may come to her hand, thinking of things which ought to be done, will gather strength and confidence, will gain standing and influence, and will steady the whole system and support the entire work.

The spirit of patriotism must pervade the schools. It has come into them with new strength and meaning in recent years. It is to be encouraged by every proper instrumentality. The instrumentality more potent than any other is the soul and spirit of the teacher. Emerson said it made not so much difference what one studied as with whom he studied. Flags are of small moment except as they are suggestive and emblematical. All the bullet-riddled battle flags which the gallant soldiers of the Union armies carried so proudly up the great avenue of the Capital City on the famous review at the close of the Rebel-

lion may be displayed in the schools and the effect will be lost unless the teacher knows American history, unless she can recall the cost and understands the value of our distinguishing American institutions, unless she sees at a glance what the flag means, unless her spirit is attuned and her feet keep step to the music of the Union. But if she does know, and if she does see, and if she does feel, there will indeed be patriotism in the school, flag or no flag.

Other nations understand this and act upon it. In Germany the teacher is, in law, an officer of the state, is sworn to support the government, obey its laws, and promote its interests in all conceivable ways. The arrangement of the room, the books that are used, the songs that are sung, all the words spoken and all the things done, are made to give significance to the three-colored flag and contribute to the greatness of the Fatherland. In France no person can enter the service of the schools who is not a native Frenchman. Every precaution is observed to have the heart of the teacher pulsate in harmony with the heart of the state, and every means is taken to bring the help of the teacher to the support of the state.

The public school system has come to be the main hope of our nation. It is the national stomach bound to digest all kinds of national food and make pure blood. It is to assimilate all kinds of people and convert them into good citizens. In this American system of schools the predominant characteristics of our future American citizenship are being, and must continue to be, developed.

The responsibility is appalling, but the public school can meet it. There is ground for the belief. The spirit of the teacher must throb with the spirit of this work. She must enter into the purposes of the state. She must know the proud story of the national life; she must be familiar with its literature; she must be able to tell the achievements of

its great men who have borne the burdens of its councils or offered their lives for its life; she must understand the plan and framework of the government; she must value our distinguishing institutions and sympathize with the true spirit and the aspirations of the American Republic, like which there is none other in the world; she must discern the danger points; she must make every child under her influence so proud of the American name that he will hold it in jealous keeping, and so loyal to the flag that if need be, he will carry it through the blaze of battle.

VI

THE TEACHER AND THE POSITION

PEOPLE are coming to realize that no school can be good, can do what it ought for their children or for the common good, can prepare for the rivalries of life, satisfy civic pride, or connect with the schools to which it is tributary, unless it is constantly on the lookout for the best teachers; and that the great systems of schools in the cities must measurably fail and be discredited unless the management is honest, intelligent, alert, and persistent in purging and reënforsing and toning up the teaching service. Nothing in our national life is more gratifying or encouraging than the steadily increasing demand for the best teaching. Perhaps the discouragements enlarge and multiply in places, but discriminating judgment upon the work of the schools, with an unqualified insistence upon more scientific methods, is plainly outrunning the difficulties, and the search for the best teachers in all grades of educational work is sharp in all parts of the country.

On the other hand, teachers are not and should not be indifferent to more dignified positions, to larger opportunities, and to higher pay.

The quest for the best teachers and the desire for the best places bring into the matter some third parties who for a consideration are willing to give their services to help things along. It also leads to some overreaching on the part of officers of institutions, to some indirection on the part of teachers, and perhaps to not a little healthful annoyance and embarrassment all around.

There is the teachers' agency. Its business may be and

frequently is perfectly legitimate, high-minded, and helpful to the different interests concerned; it may and frequently does resort to flattery, to influence, and to coercion to secure a place for a client for what there is in it for him and for it. It keeps a list of teachers with a statement of the leading points in the personal and professional career of each, with letters of commendation from the previous teachers, pastors, friends, and employers of each, and when a desirable vacancy, or the possibility of one, comes in sight it has, dependent upon its peculiar methods, the material with which to aid an institution, a good cause, and a good teacher, or the ammunition with which to make a strategic assault for the plunder there is in it. Some agencies frequently recommend to institutions before they ask and sometimes recommend teachers who have not become their clients at all. At times the most abhorrent methods are employed, and bills are presented which are based upon no real service. No sweeping allegation is made against these agencies. There is a legitimate work for them. Educated, keen, conservative, and honorable men are in charge of some of them, but the business is peculiarly beset with temptations, and it is difficult for a man to pursue it a long time and deal justly by the different interests he undertakes to serve.

There are many so-called teachers who are everlastingly manœuvring for larger pay. They play a game of petty politics and ordinarily lose at it. They have "calls" with very slight foundations for them. They are the coquettes of the profession, and before long they bring up in the same place relatively where the social flirt in time finds herself. To be sure, a teacher may properly desire better opportunities and larger pay. The true teacher cannot help it, because of what these things may do for him. But it may be safely said that the teacher is to demonstrate his worth

by quiet and fruitful work, and is to permit himself to be sought for rather than to be seeking a better place. A true woman seeking a wealthy husband would be no less anomalous than a true teacher hunting for a better place.

The quantity and quality of recommendations given to candidates for places by people of some prominence in community life or in educational work are amusing if not appalling. They are given to the candidate to carry in his pocket or file with a teachers' agency. They provide him with a "character." They are practically alike. The one from the local pastor or school trustee is not very different from the one from a normal principal or a college professor. They certify the commonplaces which no one doubts, but pass by the real points one of intelligence wants to know. The pastor and trustee do not know the defects, and the principals and professors are generous in the way of silence. So the credentials are strong on generalities and weak on particularities. They make much of the passive virtues, and say little or nothing about the shortcomings or the faults. Perhaps they are generally harmless; possibly, no one pays serious attention to them. Still it should be remembered that they are deceiving unless in experienced hands, and the likelihood of getting into inexperienced hands is considerable. And they discredit the writers. It may be surmised, also, that they really weaken the candidates by giving them false estimates of themselves and leading them to depend upon credentials rather than upon their work. If the rule were generally adopted that letters of recommendation would not be given to the candidates themselves, but that all inquiries from other parties interested would be patiently and completely and flatly answered, it would likely be better for all the parties concerned.

There is another interest that is now pushing itself force-

fully into the field, and that comes from the desire of the leading universities to place their graduates in schools, not only to aid the graduates, but to extend the university influence and gain wider support. This tendency is legitimate and commendable if methods are within bounds; but the temptations are very great and the flesh is sometimes weak. The value of college or university agents in schools that are naturally, or may be made, tributary gives an unwonted unction to the fervor of the letters that are written by officials and professors in behalf of fledgling graduates. Doubtless this thing reaches its most uncomfortable proportions as between the eastern universities and the advanced institutions of the West. The western schoolmen are well informed as to educational conditions in the East. Many of them formerly lived in or were educated in the East. They travel eastward frequently, and they read eastern educational literature constantly. But the ignorance of eastern schoolmen touching the conditions in and the demands of the western schools is capable of great things in the way of efforts to aid their intellectual children, when incited to deeds of daring by the hope that ample rewards will come back to them after some days.

Because the western schools are hunting every corner of the United States and offering good wages for the very best teachers, it seems to be assumed in the East that any sprig with a printed thesis and a degree from an institution upon the Atlantic slope will suffice to fill any western place. Youngsters who go out to try it too often find to their humiliation that some one has overreached or blundered. Instead of making conquests because the conditions are low and movements slow, they find themselves in a glowing atmosphere, among a vigorous and unconventional people whose ways and thoughts and aspirations they have difficulty in comprehending. If we could show the letters writ-

ten to help graduates in one column, and could parallel this with another showing the results, the comparison would be salutary in more ways than one. Surely, if all interested could mentally grasp all that is going on in this line, there would be much enlightenment and entertainment, if not inspiration, for a multitude of people.

There is nothing very surprising about all this. As the nations are looking and some of them fighting for commerce, so the universities are looking and some of them fighting for students. There is no doubt that the higher learning will be centralized in great institutions. Modern methods of instruction and the opportunities which the discriminating educational public demands make this inevitable. Some smaller institutions will survive on their merits; it will be because they do not try to do everything, but undertake a few specific lines of work and carry those as efficiently at least as the leading universities can hope to do. The universities which get the lead now will be likely to hold it. Large attendance, as well as multiplicity and excellence of work, will give them the lead. Agents on the ground from which students go are serviceable and perhaps necessary in getting students. There are no university agents so effective as graduates in other universities and in the colleges and high schools. Universities understand this, and their faculties work industriously to place these agents. It is not too much to say that one's standing in a university faculty is helped in considerable measure by his success in placing his graduates as teachers. There is nothing reprehensible about this. On the contrary, it shows the foresight and energy and alertness of the times. But under pressure and for lack of systematic policy, because of presidential or professional rather than institutional action in the premises, and particularly because there has been no inter-institutional discussion of the principles which should control,

there have been much confusion, many misfits, and innumerable complaints.

Harvard University is entitled to the credit of having initiated a genuine effort to systematize her work in this connection. Her great place in American education subjects her to many calls for information concerning teachers wanted by other institutions : she has the advantage of position gained by a broad policy followed for a long time and followed vigorously, and no one would ever suspect that the administration of Harvard would not know, or would be slow in acting upon, what would be to her advantage. In answering these calls, and in pushing her children into places, it must be said that she has usually spoken with marked and commendable caution. It is much to say that in speaking of their own educational offspring the officers and teachers of a university are able to come somewhere near the truth. It cannot be said of all universities. Harvard ordinarily does this, and she has gone further and undertaken doubly to guard what shall be said of her graduates by any of her people, by putting the whole matter in the hands of a committee of the faculty and thus making the commendations of students official, representative of the university, and so impersonal and conservative.

It would not be surprising, however, if a faculty committee breaking out new roads should get upon some trails from which it might better turn back. This committee "gets places for young men just going out from the university, and it also endeavors to serve graduates of some years' standing who, being already in positions which answer their purpose, are nevertheless competent for higher work at higher pay." It is this second function, or the method of discharging it, to which exception is taken. The method has been to write the heads of institutions employing

Harvard men, without any special moving cause, and without disclosing any specific purpose, asking in a general way how her men are doing, and then use the replies to help the men referred to to higher places at higher pay. It does not seem that it is sufficient justification for this proceeding to say that it is in the interests of education that able men shall advance as rapidly as possible from lower to higher places, and that it is the business of educational institutions, who are obliged to husband their resources, to be generous.

Even if both these propositions were conceded, it might be pertinently asked with whom is the right of initiative in moving a teacher from a lower position to a higher. Is it not with the people charged with the duty of filling the higher position? They may properly solicit him, and if they do and their position is really one of larger opportunities for him and for education, and it becomes apparent that he is adapted to it, then he might well be disposed to go, and the institution with which he has been associated should take obstacles out of his path and send him higher with hearty congratulations and good will. But is he to be encouraged to flirt with opportunities? Steadiness and contentment are as important to education as moving a teacher from a lower to a higher position. A sense of obligation to surrounding conditions, a knowledge of and a keen appreciation of the binding effect of legal obligations, a matter-of-course purpose to fulfill moral obligations completely, is no less essential to educational progress than the advancement of teachers from one position to another. Certainly, educational institutions are to be generous, but with whose effects besides their own? Educational institutions are to be just to the particular interests for which they stand as well as generous to the general interests of education. And who is to be the judge of the depth of the

resources, or the measure and direction of educational generosity, but the people who are to give?

Educational maternalism is as undesirable as governmental paternalism. The time comes for college students to be put out of the nest and told that unless they can dig their own worms they will be in danger of going without their breakfasts. It may be all right for their school mother to tell them where the worms are and show them how to scratch, and even to dig out the first worm for them, but certainly after all that they should be allowed to do things all by themselves, or take the consequences. There will be stronger men and women, more contentment and stability, broader work, and greater satisfaction in the schools, if that is done.

There are some fundamental principles which may well govern institutions and teachers and third parties in their dealings concerning teachers' positions.

An agreement between a board or an institution and a teacher is a legal contract. Both the institution and the teacher are bound to its fulfillment in honor and in law. An institution which would dismiss a teacher in the midst of a term of employment, unless for immorality, pronounced incompetency, or manifest inability to perform his part of the agreement, would act very reprehensibly and unlawfully. And a teacher who would insist upon vacating a position in the midst of a term of employment because of an opportunity to get another position with better advantages or larger pay would act no less reprehensibly and unlawfully.

Whether an agreement once entered into shall be abrogated before it is fulfilled is to be left to the free discretion of the parties. Practically the only time when this question is raised is when a teacher may go to a larger place. It is strange how many teachers who would think it a great out-

rage for a board to dismiss them in the middle of a term, also think it a great wrong if a board is unwilling to allow them to break their agreements when they find it advantageous to do so. As a teacher's efficiency is so much dependent upon his spirit and contentment, institutions are accustomed to say that "if he has made up his mind he wants to go he might as well be allowed to do so, and we will supply the vacancy as best we can." It is tantamount to saying that "the teacher is hardly expected to be governed by the ordinary rules of law and business-dealing which apply to other grown persons with capacity to contract, so we will have to overlook the matter and let him go." It may be true that boards of education and heads of institutions should be interested in the advancement of all true teachers, but it is not true that this is sufficient to overthrow all agreements; and the true interests of the teaching profession would be seriously injured if it were to be so. Teachers are not to be included with minors, and lunatics, and feeble-minded folk, and other mental non-competents who are excused from the performance of contracts. It is to be remembered that the rescission of an agreement is not a matter of right, that it is hardly a matter which one may ask, that it is a matter which addresses itself to the free discretion and generous impulses of the employing power, and if it is not readily granted the agreement is to be fulfilled as cheerfully and as completely as if the occasion for thinking about its abrogation had not arisen at all.

If the employment of a teacher is not by its terms to end at a specific time; if by rule or usage it continues from term to term, or year to year, and if either party desires to terminate it, there is an honorable mutual obligation to advise the other at a considerable time in advance of such termination, or as soon as it is decided upon. It is well to

remember that it is something of an accomplishment to get out of an old position creditably, and so that the old place always has a welcome for you. It is an accomplishment which many do not possess, and it is one which is very suggestive of character.

The first desire of a true teacher must be to advance his work and enhance his usefulness. He cannot be indifferent to enlarged opportunities with improved facilities. Nor can he be indifferent to greater compensation, for that of itself means enlarged opportunities. But the certain way to advance is to prove one's worth in the place where he is. Then he will be known in the region round about and perhaps in the whole land if he is strongly successful. He cannot be strongly successful unless he is contented, and enthusiastic, and studious, and steady. He must grow, and he must be sure and reliable enough to be counted upon. He must assimilate with the conditions in which he works. One who has his ear to the ground all the while, in the hope of hearing a "call," is a nuisance and no teacher at all. One who makes use of a call, or an inference, or a wink, or something less substantial, to increase his present salary, comes little short of being a fraud. Contentment, enthusiasm, loyalty, efficiency, these are the chief elements of a teacher's capital. They soon insure recognition, and they readily and inevitably command an educational market. Then a better place — one of greater opportunities and larger pay — will open, and when it does it may well be taken.

The doctrine that the interests of education will be promoted by the best teachers getting into places of largest opportunity will hardly be challenged anywhere. And the places of largest opportunity have the right to seek the largest men and women. It is the business of any place to seek the best material within its reach. There need be no

apology for doing it, and there is no occasion for sneaking about it. It may well be done with directness and with the knowledge of the head or other officers of the institution whose interests and serenity may be affected thereby. Every facility for obtaining information should be afforded. Then the invaders should decide whether they really want to lay suit or not, and if they conclude that they do they must determine what they can do to make their suit successful.

There is undoubtedly a perfectly legitimate field of operations for teachers' agencies in aiding officers who are in quest of teachers and in aiding teachers who are in search of places; but, as already suggested, the business is peculiarly liable to invite bad methods and lay itself open to criticism. Perhaps the agencies sometimes get censure that does not belong to them. If an officer allows the belief to grow that his favor can be gained only through a certain agency, that is his fault more than the fault of the agency. If an institution does not sufficiently discount the roseate statements of an agency as to the qualities of a candidate the institution is as much too slow as the agency is too fast. In the absence of intentional fraud such matters afford little real ground for complaint; they are incident to all business and in time regulate themselves. But the temptation to deliberate fraud is great. If an agency assumes to represent one of the parties without being authorized, if it intentionally misstates facts, if it makes a claim for pay without rendering any service, if it pretends to an influence which it does not possess, if it flatters and cajoles and coerces and resorts to circuitous and dishonest methods to accomplish its ends, it is guilty of fraud. Of course such an agency should be shunned. If institutions and teachers would recognize no agencies, and tell the fledglings to have nothing to do with agencies which are not in the hands of educated men who

know the needs of a position and can discern the qualities and particularly the adaptiveness of a candidate, and who have honesty enough to tell the truth, there would not be so many illegitimate concerns to condemn. In a word, when agencies try to serve true teachers and intelligently and genuinely undertake to meet the needs of the schools in the best ways, they are to be encouraged, for they may be of real assistance to both interests.

After all, it is well to remember that the place in which a teacher has gained a good reputation is more than likely to be the best place for him. Real teachers make positions by the work which they do. Few who make a position and gain reputation improve the one or enhance the other by transfer to a new place. Teaching power, accompanied by steadiness and contentment, is certain to bring a teacher most precious remuneration which cannot be measured in gold.

VII

THE SCHOOLS AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

THE question of what the schools may do to promote the peace of the world involves an understanding of the basis of world peace. It is a subject about which there is not a little mystery and not a little divergent philosophy.

Never, since the angels first proclaimed "On earth peace; good will toward men," has the hope of universal peace and good will seemed so assuring. It is because of the outworking of the new Power which the angels then heralded in the affairs of men. But the peace and good will were not to be without heavy conflict. Christ said, "I came not to send peace, but a sword." The sword was to be the necessary forerunner of peace. Repeatedly, He foretold the horrors which were to follow the unfolding of the new gospel. Prophecy has been realized in fact. A new King came into human life. True, He was a heavenly King. He regarded not the kings of the earth, but they had to regard Him. He gained followers at once, and together they propagated a philosophy and pursued a course which defied monarchs. The monarchs resisted and harassed them, but they gained great numbers and became a great force. They stirred the thinking as well as the feelings of great peoples. All peoples lived in subjection to kings. The power of the kings was in the unthinking obedience of their subjects. The only argument was brute force. But conviction and faith could not be abashed by physical force. The new religion was as intellectual as spiritual. Nations were actually set in motion. It widened knowledge and sharpened mentality. Men and women had to think for them-

selves, and then their thinking was unlike. Creeds began to be framed, and the drawing and the defense of them made for logical thinking and trained intellectuality. With added numbers and hardening creeds and deepening faith, and with all this opposed by nothing but brute force, aggression was natural and conflict inevitable. Armies broke out the road over which freedom and the truth could advance to the making of a new order of things.

The crusades did something for the central European nations in the early centuries, as modern invention and travel have been doing in our century. The compounding of a new nation in Britain a thousand years ago did something more. The discovery of America, the consequent Spanish dreams of world empire, and the expulsion of Spain from the Netherlands did even more, and the German, and English, and American, and French revolutions — all sequential — did yet more. And the compounding of yet another nation in America, which has practically demonstrated the possibility of secure and aggressive popular government, with the sense of moral right and the political prescience which could locate the point of equipoise between liberty and security, has stridden toward the climax of universal peace more decisively than all before. It has all been associated with intellectual strength and moral advances. Schools and universities and literatures and philosophies and systems of laws and professional spirit and learning, and endless devices and conveniences which are the product of the fact that individualism is having its chance in the world, — all this is the logical unfolding of a mighty plan which was beyond the ordering of men.

It has all been marked by force, — the rational and regulated force of the mass controlling the greedy, impulsive, vicious power of the chieftain or the clan. It was impossible without physical force, and the force of the Christian peo-

ples was as righteous as the thinking which called it into operation. Gustavus Adolphus and William of Nassau are as much entitled to the regard of a peace conference as is Luther. Cromwell may be as justly honored there as Stratford and Sir Harry Vane. Washington's army was as great a moral force as the Continental Congress, whose Declaration of Independence it made good. Lincoln's armies were as righteous as the Constitution which required Lincoln to gather such forces as were necessary to execute the laws in all parts of the land. The heroic doings of the men and women who made our free democracy possible and proved its power to govern, and therefore its right to be, are moral assets of the nation and moral stimulants in the schools. The obligation of this generation to impress all this upon the next generation is as binding as the eternal truth itself, and as sacred as a soldier's grave.

Constitutionalism is the corner stone of the peace of the nations, and it will have to be of the peace of the world. It has been expanded through armed resistance to brutal aggression. It has not yet gone so far as to do away completely with the further necessity of force; it has not made the struggles which were the conditions of its birth seem wicked; it has not put a ban upon present and future aggressiveness. What it *has* done has been to define and assure natural rights by subordinating force to law. It has established courts to determine disputes upon principles which have sprung out of the wisdom of the ages, and it has created officers and forces who, in a systematic and authoritative way, bring the physical strength of all good citizens when need be to protect the rights of good and bad.

Some men and some nations want anything but law, and anything but the lawful exercise of the common authority against them. Such men in a political society have to be controlled; such nations have to be enlightened. It remains

to be seen whether the principle that the constitutional nations are to exercise control over lawless ones is to prevail throughout the world, and if so, in what cases?

An American dissents from any doctrine which would make men insipid. If a felon breaks into a man's house, the law expects the householder to resist, and even approves the killing of the intruder should safety seem to demand it. That is not only because a man's house is his castle, but to the end that other felons may know what to expect. He is a weak character and a worthless citizen who sees a brutal and irresponsible scoundrel strike a woman and does not employ whatever strength he may have to protect her. The law would shield her, and it not only expects all good citizens to aid it but, in the absence of its authorized officers, to execute it as best they can. It required thousands of years to establish in the law the principle that all decent people must stand for the security and the opportunity of each, and each for the good of all. It has now become firmly established in all well-ordered countries. It will be no small matter to make it a virile and accepted principle governing the conduct and the relations of nations. It was left for democracy to give it its opportunity. The rescue of Cuba from Spain by the United States, not for gain, much against our interest, and only because it was right, has supplied the object lesson which good international teaching needs, and it has exemplified a principle which is vital to world progress.

It is perhaps too much to expect that nations will bind themselves in advance to accept the determinations of an international tribunal. That may be parting with sovereignty, the one thing that nations cannot do. But the very fact of participation in setting up an international tribunal establishes the purpose to respect it. The fact that a case is submitted to it proves the expectation to

abide by its determination. Nations which take these solemn steps and then repudiate them, without assigning a reason which commends itself to the sense of the world, will forfeit the international respect which is alike vital to the standing and the strength of nations, and without which they are little to be feared.

The nations have come to live so closely together, the news of the world is so widely and quickly known, the mind of the world is so enlightened, the moral sense so strong, the principles of justice so widely and firmly established, and, withal, war has become so mechanical and abhorrent, that it does seem as though there should be sufficient agreement among the more progressive nations to establish some substantial form of constitutional procedure *among* as well as *within* the nations. It at least ought to go so far as to prevent aggressive warfare without just cause, or, even *with* just cause without imperative need. All warfare perhaps cannot be avoided. The deliberate thought of an enlightened people upon a vital principle surely ought to have its way after every other alternative has failed. But the educative influence of the endless accretion of idle armament and unusable forces is bad; the surplusage of it is exactly opposed to the only legitimate purpose of it.

It would seem that any general and efficient scheme for settling international controversies must depend upon: (a) ripening public sentiment, (b) a permanent court of such exalted character that no people with a just cause would fear its determinations, and (c) a written and steadily augmenting code of legal principles which ought to govern international conduct, both in peace and war.

The sentiment is crystallizing; the forerunner of the court is already in being, and the permanent court seems likely; the code has augmented slowly while its only oppor-

tunity was through agreements in treaties or precedents, but it will be more rapidly expanded when there is a place to submit issues and when determinations are more frequent.

This is what the schools may promote. The number of teachers in the world is surprising. There are 150,000 in Austria-Hungary; as many more in France; 232,000 in Germany; 275,000 in the British Isles; 97,000 in Italy; 30,000 in the Netherlands; 180,000 in Russia; 18,000 in Sweden; 13,000 in Switzerland; a full half million in India; 120,000 in Japan; 30,000 in Canada, and 580,000 in the United States. All the other countries, civilized or semi-civilized, have their fair proportions. There are clearly more than 3,500,000 in all.

It is a great guild. There is no other such widely distributed fraternity in the world. Of course there are all kinds in it, but they have much in common. It is their business to differ and their delight to discuss, but their work brings them into accord upon the essentials of right living and of international comity and brotherhood. The predisposition of the overwhelming number is not to be doubted, and if in some way they could be quickened to use their quiet, steady, and indirect influences to substitute rational determinations for the arbitrament of the sword in settling international disputes, it would have a telling effect upon the sentiment of the world. It would seem as though, with a little governmental favor, official records and our free communication, there might be a somewhat systematic and potential canvass of the teachers of the world in the interest of universal good will and of the common regard for definable moral standards, which ought to be inviolable in both individual and international conduct.

For example, let it be understood that one nation will not

be allowed to despoil another for the sake of empire or other greed, because it is immoral, and the ordinary motive of aggressive warfare will have disappeared. Again, if it could be realized that all men and all governments are responsible to one another for the security of each and the opportunity of all; that all government is necessarily a burden, and that each must carry his part of the burden according to his strength, then the feeling of comradeship in effort would become an impenetrable barrier to unholy war. The teachers of the world might, through an organized movement, become a very great force in doing all this. More thoroughly educated concerning it themselves, they would, at least by the indirect influence, which is often more telling than the direct, propagate it in all parts of the earth.

The universities may well be counted upon to give point, form, and expression to the better sentiment of all countries in this behalf. It has a proper place in their offerings; it is attractive to their advanced students, and their teaching is bound to give opportunity and impetus to this good movement. Their research and their publications may well be expected to illumine and soundly expand the law of the state, and the manifest and growing comity between the universities of the more enlightened and powerful nations ought to open the way for the extension of constitutionalism to the vital issues which are inevitable in international relations. It is particularly so since the better schools of law are in organic association with universities, and more particularly still it is so since the experts in the universities are coming to be the best equipped advisers of nations upon technical points in serious international disputes.

The work of the colleges, and in some measure that of the secondary schools, may well anticipate that of the professional schools and the universities in this as in other

matters. The phases of it which may properly form a part of the work of the elementary schools are not obvious. It must be said frequently that it is high time that we stopped clogging the curricula of the lower schools with so much that pupils may learn in one tenth of the time when the place for it is reached, — if, indeed, there is any place for it at all. If we teach the elements of knowledge and exemplify the elements of good morals in the primary schools, we shall not be censured if we omit constitutional law, political history, and international arbitration.

Of course, there should be nothing in the schools to distort the understanding or obscure the outlook of children. It has often been said in peace conferences that the textbooks in the schools emphasize the triumphs of strife rather than the struggles and accomplishments of peace. We cannot expect the textbooks to be prepared without reference to human interest. The news and magazine writers ought not to criticise them for that. The readers and histories and geographies, in the texts and the illustrations, exemplify very fairly the struggles and progress of all the interests of peace in all parts of the world. The literature used by the schools is the best in the world, infinitely more choice than ever before. It is not the literature of strife so much as of peace, work, and culture. One who is advocating a particular thing is hardly likely to be an unbiased judge when his special enthusiasm is involved. In recent years there is distinctly discernible in school literature a new purpose to magnify accomplishments in the arts and sciences, rather than the triumphs of armies. But history must be written truly. The boys who have ginger in them will have to know what has happened; they will have their opportunity; they will draw conclusions for themselves. The work of the schools makes for independent and virile thinking within the limits which hard facts impose,

and therefore for balanced manliness and womanliness, more than ever before in human history.

The mind and heart of the world cherish good will and abhor war. But natural rights are cherished more than peace, and they will be maintained even though conflicts ensue. In well ordered life rights are ordinarily maintained and conflicts are avoided by the submission of good citizens to the rule of law, by submitting disputes to the decisions of courts, and by using the common power to punish the undesirable citizens. States which are sane enough and strong enough for this, naturally come into agreeable relations with other states of like character. Commonly that is enough. But there are men and nations who prefer to be outlaws; and there are men and nations with no inclinations towards outlawry who have differences that cannot be settled by discussion and agreement. Moreover, men and women do not separate into nations upon moral lines. Without much reference to causes, some in all nations would have conflict for the mere sake of conflict, or for a mere show of strength and the power to bully; some would avoid conflict at any cost; and some believe that force is never necessary to the maintenance of just principles. We have to deal with common opinion and with prevalent conditions. Differences between men will continue to arise, and they will be settled by conciliation, by arbitration, by judicial determination, or by force. The more serious differences between nations, as well as between men, will have to be settled in one of these ways. Many of the differences between nations are settled by discussion, and we hear little of them. Some are settled by arbitration, to the avoidance of many wars. But international arbitration of aggravated disputes is not much to be relied upon except between the most enlightened nations having predominant moral sense. Settlement by law will be the surer, but it depends upon

common sentiment, upon some kind of continuing agreement, upon principles being reduced to form, upon an established and satisfying tribunal, upon recognized practice for joining issues and proceeding to determinations, and upon the extent of the understanding that the nations will submit to it themselves and support its judgments in all parts of the world.

This is international constitutionalism. It is constitutionalism in its fullest flower. Arbitration may avoid war; constitutionalism is a system reasonably certain to avoid war. Even more, it is forehanded, it is the object lesson, it is educative, it quickens initiative, and it opens opportunity to the best impulses of all people in all the nations. The schools, particularly the schools of the masses out of whose freedom constitutionalism has always sprung, can ill afford to have no part in helping it on. But it must be a part which is neither sporadic nor spasmodic, neither memorized nor mechanical. It must spring out of that impulse and grasp which provide the background of all substantial accomplishment; it must proceed from impulse to result with due regard to the basis upon which the schools rest and to all of the other interests which centre in them. And that must come through the thinking of the teachers rather than through the mechanism of the schools.

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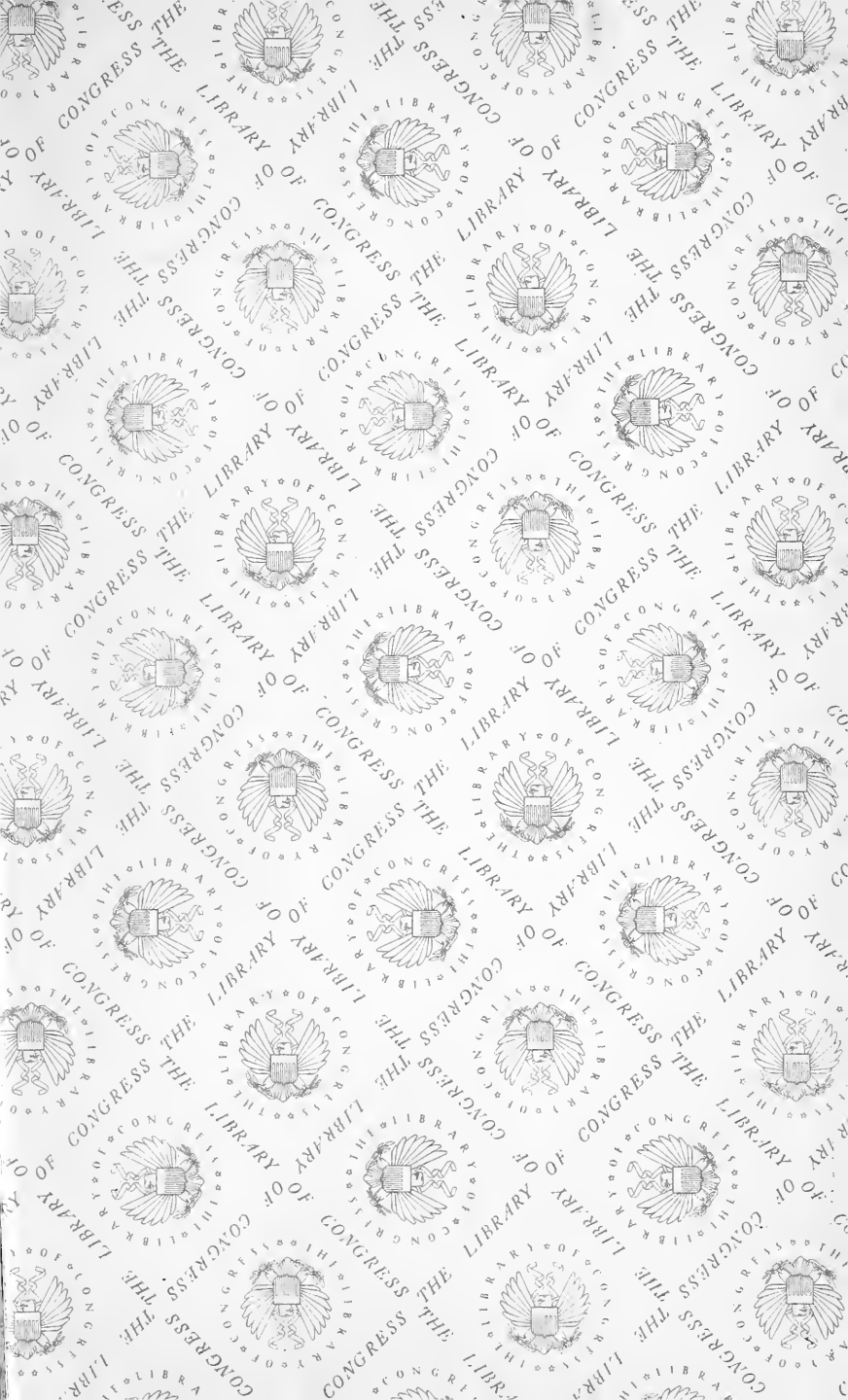
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